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EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD PAULUM
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Classics

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EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD PAULUM
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EDIDIT

CLAUDE W. BARLOW

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

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PREFACE

For several years I have been interested in textual problems concerning the numerous works falsely ascribed to Seneca during the Middle Ages, but it was as a student of Prof. G. L. Hendrickson of Yale University that my attention was first turned in particular towards the apocryphal Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul. While preparing a report on this Correspondence, I became aware that the existing printed texts were very inadequate and I determined to search for better manuscript evidence. This search has been conducted in several European libraries during the last three years, simultaneously with other research which had previously been begun. The latter, however, was unexpectedly interrupted by the conditions now prevailing in Spain. The necessary time was thus at my disposal to carry out the work which is presented herewith.

The new manuscript material has proved to be of considerable importance. Among the copies which had never been studied before are no less than six of the ninth century and four of the tenth. The total number of manuscripts in existence proved far too great to allow a complete survey to be made.

The changes which have been introduced into the text may be seen at a glance in the Index on p. 153. In addition to these, two very important matters have developed from the study of this Correspondence. The first is the demonstration of the existence of an ancient system of abbreviations in the archetype; the second is the evidence for an edition of the Correspondence by Alcuin at the end of the eighth century.

The apparatus criticus gives all the variants of all the manuscripts used for this edition. Many of these variants are doubtless of little value, but the brevity of the text has kept their total from being too great in extent. All differences in spelling, except variations of *e*, *ae*, and *oe*, are indicated for the ninth century manuscripts. The primary purpose of the translation is to make known my interpretation of many difficult passages which have not been discussed elsewhere. For the sake of clarity it has been kept fairly literal throughout. In spite of the best efforts, however, there still remain a number of places which are of doubtful meaning or even completely lacking in sense.

It would never have been possible to carry on this research so extensively without the courteous cooperation of the librarians and staff of the fourteen libraries whose manuscripts have been studied. Permission for reproducing the photographs which appear in the Plates was generously granted by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; and the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. From these three, from the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, from the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, and in particular from the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome I have received many facilities and privileges for study of the original manuscripts. All of the above-mentioned libraries have also helped me to obtain photographs. Photographs have likewise been procured from the following libraries, which I have not personally visited: Bibliothèque Publique, Angers; Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek, Berne; Stiftsbibliothek, Einsiedeln; Bibliothèque Municipale, Metz; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan; Bibliothèque Municipale, Reims; Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall; Herzogliche Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

It is a pleasure to record the material aid given to this project by the American Council of Learned Societies, which extended to me a grant in aid of research; a small part of this

was used for the purchase of the photographs necessary for the preparation of this edition.

Throughout the study of the Latin text and of the interrelation of the manuscripts I was able to draw freely at all times upon the knowledge and experience of Prof. R. P. Robinson of the University of Cincinnati, formerly Professor in Charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome. In addition to many other important suggestions which he made, I owe to him the clue to the discovery of the real nature of codex **P**. Both the manuscript and the proofs of the present volume have been read by Prof. Mason Hammond, present Professor in Charge of the School of Classical Studies, and by Prof. A. W. Van Buren, whose careful examinations have done much to improve the style and consistency of the book. The drawing of the Stemma Codicum and of the figure on p. 55 is the work of the skilled hand of Mr. Chester Aldrich, Director of the American Academy in Rome.

In conclusion I wish to express my appreciation for the patience, sympathy, and encouragement of all my colleagues in Rome.

CLAUDE W. BARLOW

American Academy in Rome

Mar. 19, 1938.

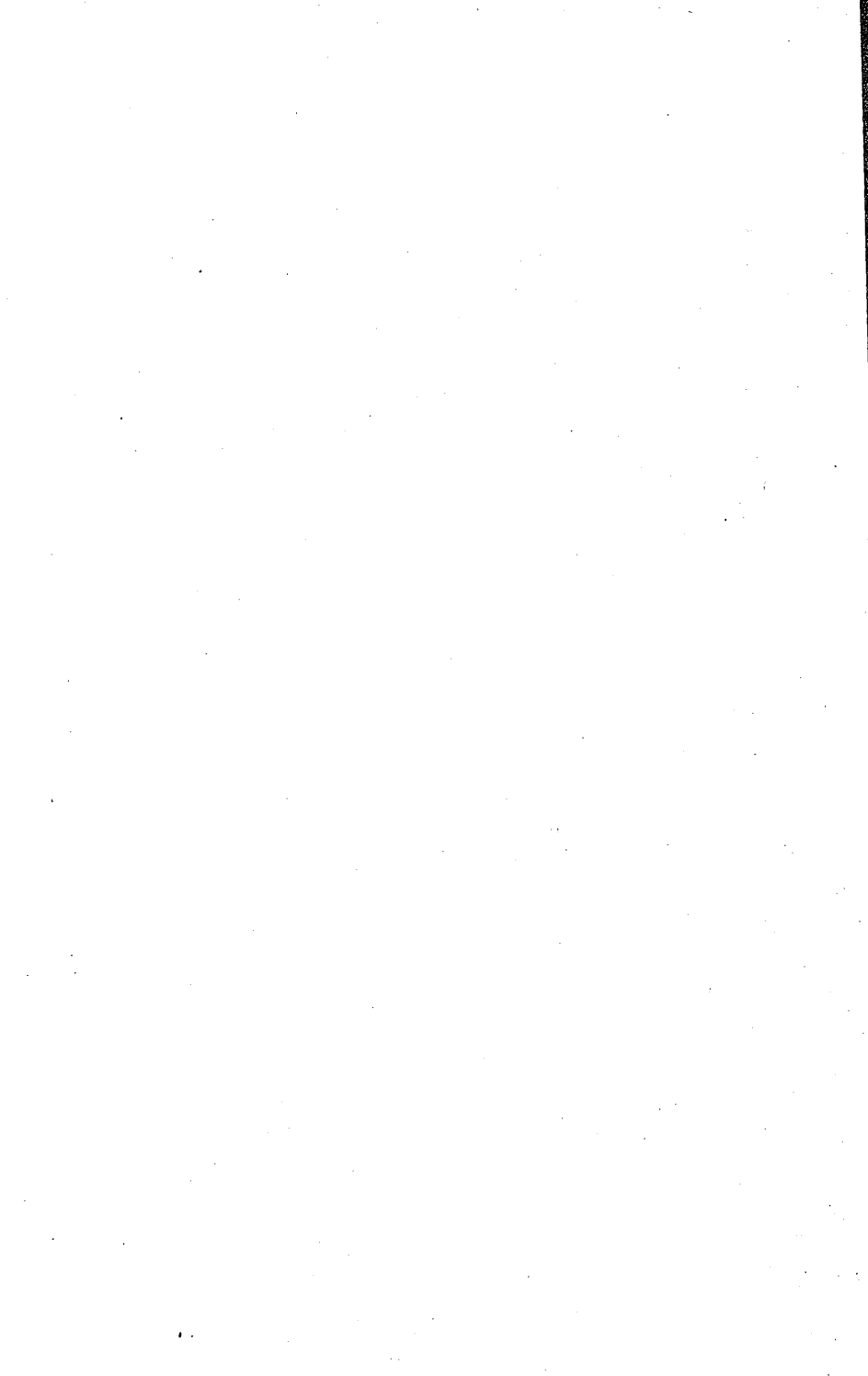


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CHAPTER I

THE TRADITION OF SENECA'S ADHERENCE TO CHRISTIANITY

A knowledge of the differences between classical and late Latin makes it impossible to believe that the eight letters "of Seneca to Paul" and the six letters "of Paul to Seneca", forming a Correspondence handed down in numerous Latin manuscripts, were written by anyone living in the first century after Christ. It is difficult, however, to refute the arguments of those who are persuaded on other grounds that Seneca did know St. Paul, for the facts which have been used as evidence, although they may be mere coincidents, are of an unusually striking nature. Two authenticated incidents in ancient history may possibly have caused Seneca to be acquainted with Paul or at least informed him of Paul's existence. Would Seneca then have heard about Paul's new teaching and would he have wished to know more about it for himself? Just how important did Paul appear to the Romans, even when they caused him to be put to death? It appears desirable to examine these possibilities briefly before turning to the Correspondence which is the subject of this book, since such an examination will present the setting in which these apocryphal letters were composed, and may perhaps furnish a clue to the true purpose of the author.

It was during the reign of Claudius, perhaps in the year 51, that Seneca's brother Novatus, who had been adopted by L. Junius Gallio and hence was known as Junius Gallio, served as proconsul of the province of Achaëa. During one of Paul's visits to Corinth the two were brought together in a manner described in *Acts* 18, 12—17: "But when Gallio was proconsul

of Achaia, the Jews with one accord rose up against Paul, and brought him before the judgement-seat, saying, This man persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. But when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If indeed it were a matter of wrong or of wicked villany, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if they are questions about words and names and your own law, look to it yourselves; I am not minded to be a judge of these matters. And he drave them from the judgement-seat. And they all laid hold on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgement-seat. And Gallio cared for none of these things." It is known definitely, therefore, that Paul was once brought into the presence of Gallio; but was the proconsul sufficiently impressed by Paul to have reported the incident to his brother? Certainly there is nothing in the Biblical narrative itself to support such a suggestion¹.

After Paul's first journey to Rome for trial before Nero, he was kept for two years in free custody in charge of "the prefect of the pretorian guard", i. e. Burrus². The exact years are uncertain; the sojourn may have begun in 57, the year after Seneca's consulship, or even as late as 61. Now it is well known

¹ This incident has been adapted for fiction by Anatole France as one of the episodes of his *Sur la Pierre Blanche*. It was also used by Rudyard Kipling in *Gallio's Song*.

² It is necessary to add a word of caution concerning this widely diffused theory of direct contact between Paul and Burrus. Actually the available information is very meager. The whole question hinges upon the reading of the Greek text of *Acts* 28, 16. The following information is derived from notes on this verse in F. Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I* (London, 1920—33) III 252—3; IV 345; V 444—5. An expansion in the Greek text, found only in the so-called "Western" version, states that Paul, upon arrival at the gates of Rome, was entrusted to the care of the *σκαυτοπéδραχος*. This word has been interpreted as *princeps peregrinorum* in the Latin version represented by the Codex Gigas (cf. the discussion of this little known officer by Th. Mommsen and A. Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin* [1895] 491—503.) An equally reasonable interpretation, found in a few other Latin versions, is *praefectus (praetorii)*, and this is the only support for the supposed connection between Burrus and Paul.

that Seneca and Burrus were the chief advisers of Nero during this period. Why should not Seneca, therefore, have had abundant opportunity during those two years to become acquainted with Paul and to be influenced by his teachings or even, as was later believed, to be converted to Christianity? The end of *Acts* (28, 30—31) testifies to the activities carried on by Paul during his partial confinement. It must be admitted, however, that this is a matter for pure speculation; it is no easier to assert the tradition than it is to refute it.

Two forms of negative evidence indicate that Seneca was not either directly or indirectly influenced by St. Paul. The first is that there is nothing in the extant writings of Seneca himself, works which represent all periods of his life and all of his activities, to indicate that he was at any time under the influence of Christian doctrines. Many volumes have been written to demonstrate the affinities of Seneca's philosophy with Christianity. Most of the resemblances brought forward, such as belief in the one true God, the relations of God and man, and the proper way of worshiping Him, do indeed exist, but they are to be attributed to influence upon Paul and upon Seneca from some common Greek source, rather than to any possible dependence of one upon the other¹.

The other negative evidence which tells against the tradition of Seneca's conversion lies in the fact that not one of the Latin writers who mentioned him during the second and third centuries was aware of any possibility of his having been a Christian, and that Jerome and Augustine merely allude to this tradition, without putting any emphasis upon it. In fact, if Jerome and Augustine had really believed that Seneca had been converted to Christianity, this would surely have been apparent in their numerous references to him.

¹ This matter has been most recently treated by Th. Schreiner, *Seneca im Gegensatz zu Paulus. Ein Vergleich ihrer Welt- und Lebensanschauung* (Tübingen, 1936).

The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, the earliest philosophical defense of Christianity, owes much to Seneca, although he is not mentioned by name. Many of Seneca's ideas and many Stoic doctrines were used by Minucius as arguments for Christianity, for example the belief that God makes good people suffer in order to test them.

Tertullian's only reference to Seneca is in his words: *Seneca saepe noster*¹. This is explained by Faider² as due to the predilection with which the early Latin apologists approached Seneca, not in order to adopt his philosophy, but rather in order to find material for argument. Meanwhile St. Cyprian battling his idols and Arnobius immersed in scepticism and pessimism were too engrossed to mention Seneca. To all the Christian writers of the third century Seneca was only a profane philosopher, and this remained true of Lactantius, who tried to establish a new doctrine with which Stoicism was not wholly compatible. It was impossible for him to hold that Nature is good or that knowledge is the Summum Bonum. In spite of this, Lactantius regarded Cicero as *Romanae philosophiae princeps*³ and of Seneca he said: *qui volet scire omnia, Senecae libros in manum sumat, qui morum vitiorumque publicorum et descriptor verissimus et insectator acerrimus fuit*⁴. Finally he dared to claim that if Seneca had received Christian training he would have become a true worshiper of God. *Quid verius dici potuit ab eo qui Deum nosset quam dictum est ab homine verae religionis ignaro? . . . Potuit esse verus Dei cultor, si quis illi monstrasset, et contempsisset profecto Zenonem et magistrum suum Sotionem, si verae sapientiae ducem nactus esset*⁵. This statement may serve as absolute proof that in 325, the date of the publication of the *Institutiones Divinae*, the

¹ *De Anima* 20.

² *Etudes sur Sénèque* (Gand, 1921) 85.

³ *Inst. Div.* I 17, 3.

⁴ *Inst. Div.* V 9, 19.

⁵ *Inst. Div.* VI 24, 13/14.

tradition of the relations between Seneca and Paul was entirely unknown, the supposed Correspondence between the two had not become familiar to the public, and Seneca himself was considered a pagan whose philosophy was, to be sure, quite close to that of the Christians, but by no means truly Christian.

Barring the discovery of new evidence, the question of when and how this tradition actually arose can be answered only hypothetically. One cannot even say with confidence whether the Correspondence caused the tradition, or whether the opposite is true. Did the author of these letters hear of the possibility of a meeting between Seneca and St. Paul and thus become inspired to compose an exchange of letters between them, or did the publication of such letters, written for some other purpose, give rise to a legend which became so widespread? It is much more probable that the latter is the case, for in 392, when Jerome published his *De Viris Illustribus*¹, he declared that his only reason for including Seneca in his catalogue was the existence of his Correspondence with Paul. This implies that he knew of no other source of a rumor concerning Seneca's change of faith. In fact, the word *sanctorum*² does not even mean that Jerome considered Seneca a Christian, for he also includes Philo and Josephus in this term. Neither do Jerome's words give assurance that he had seen the supposed Correspondence himself, much less that he believed it to be genuine. He was in Bethlehem at the time and may have heard of it only through reports from his friends.

The testimony of Augustine is confusing. In one passage he borrows from Jerome: *merito ait Seneca, qui temporibus apostolorum fuit, cuius etiam quaedam ad Paulum apostolum leguntur epistolae*³. Elsewhere he says that Seneca never mentioned the Christians: *Christianos tamen, iam tunc Iudaeis inimicissimos,*

¹ Text of c. 12 on p. 122.

² Line 4.

³ Ep. 153, 14.

*in neutram partem commemorare ausus est, ne vel laudaret contra suae patriae veterem consuetudinem vel reprehenderet contra propriam forsitan voluntatem*¹. The two possible reasons for the silence, as here suggested by Augustine, would both presuppose some sympathy for the Christians on Seneca's part.

One other Christian Latin writer of the fourth century, Sidonius Apollinaris, shows acquaintance with some of the works of Seneca and even mentions his relations with Nero, but never alludes to any possible influence upon him by St. Paul. Faider cites² only one work from the following century which was concerned with Seneca. This is the poem *Rescriptum Honorii scholastici contra epistolas Senecae*³. The author exalts Christianity by condemning the philosophy of Seneca in his writings to Lucilius. As we have seen, however, this hostility was not generally expressed by Church writers. A much more important person in the history of the Western Church in the sixth century, St. Martin of Braga, made an epitome of the *De Ira* of Seneca for his work of the same name⁴, while his *Formula Vitae Honestae*⁵ also is probably an epitome of some lost treatise by Seneca, perhaps the *De Officiis*. Since these two works were transmitted together with the more strictly theological writings of St. Martin, he undoubtedly regarded Seneca as a suitable source for Christian ethics, just as the fourth-century fathers drew largely on Cicero⁶. In fact, the *De Ira* was especially dedicated to a Bishop Wittimer, who had requested it, while the *Formula* was addressed to no less a person than Miro, king of the Sueves.

¹ *De Civ. Dei* VI 11.

² *Études sur Sénèque* 106—7.

³ *Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese I 2, No. 666.

⁴ *Pat. Lat.* 72, 41.

⁵ *Pat. Lat.* 72, 21.

⁶ Cf. Ambrose's use of Cicero's *De Off.* for his own *De Off.*

In the same period Seneca is quoted in the minutes of the second Council of Tours, which convened in 567. Whatever this unusual mention of his name in actual Church records signifies, it at least demonstrates the importance of his position among the philosophers accepted in that day.

The tradition of Seneca's contacts with Paul and of his conversion to Christianity does not appear in a definite form until the Pseudo-Linus, whose work should probably be dated in the seventh century¹. Here the influence of Paul upon the imperial household and even upon the Roman senate is forcefully described in a way that seems to point to a twofold origin, with one source distinct from the alleged Correspondence between Paul and Seneca. Thenceforth, especially from the ninth century until the Renaissance, the friendship of the philosopher Seneca and the Apostle Paul was accepted as a historical fact, doubted by no one. The Italian Humanists were the first to realize that the Correspondence is false, and therefore probably the whole tradition as well. Belief in the tradition was, however, revived a century ago. It was advocated most strongly by Fleury in his two-volume book, *St. Paul et Sénèque* (Paris, 1853). Doubt and incredulity, however, have again gained the upper hand, although there are still many persons who fondly hope that it may one day be possible to prove conclusively that Paul, during his stay in Rome, came into close, though secret, contact with important members of Nero's household² and made among them some of the earliest converts in the Capital³.

¹ Quotation on p. 110.

² Cf. *Philip.* 4, 22: *Salutant vos omnes sancti, maxime autem qui de Caesaris domo sunt*, where reference is probably made only to slaves.

³ There has recently been brought to my attention the existence of a tradition regarding the exact location in Rome in which St. Paul lodged and where he is supposed to have met Seneca. This place is the site of the present church of S. Paolo alla Regola (also called S. Paolino alla Regola) not far from the Ponte Garibaldi. The tradition is fully treated in G. Parisi, *La prima dimora di S. Paolo in Roma* (Alba, 1927). For an up-to-date bibliography of books and articles on this subject, see A. Proia and P. Romano, *Arenula (Rione Regola)* (Rome, 1935) 170—172 and 183—193.

CHAPTER II

THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

I. Description

- A** Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 251, parchment, XI cent., mm. 306 × 216, ff. I + 226. Vattasso and De' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini* I (Rome, 1902) 183 f. Ff. 1—1^v S. Leo Magnus, a fragment of Ep. 16; 2—223^v Hilarius, *Tractatus super Psalmos* (A. Zingerle in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien* 108 [1884] 957 f.); 223^v—225^v *Epistolae Senecae ad apostolum Paulum et Pauli ad eundem*. A note on 226^v shows that this codex was one of the books acquired for the monastery of Avellana by Petrus Damianus while he was abbot (1041—1058).

The entire manuscript was copied by a single scribe in two columns of thirty lines to the page. In the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul the title and salutations are in red. The few corrections may all have been made *currente calamo*. Only the marginal note beside 14, 15 is by another hand. The notice from Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 12) is not found. The last letter is the only one which has a date; this was added by the rubricator. I collated this manuscript in 1936, and also have photostats.

- B** Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 2839—43, parchment, IX cent., mm. 200 × 135, ff. 108 (plus an unnumbered leaf after f. 12). J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibl. Royale de Belgique* II (Brussels, 1902) 135. Ff. 1—21 Augustine, *De disciplina Christiana*; 21—26^v

Sermon of Eraclius; 26^v—41^v Two sermons of St. John of Constantinople, *De compunctione cordis*; 41^v Dedicatory poem of Alcuin (*Gens Bragmanna...*)¹; 42—66 *Alexandri Regis Macedonum et Dindimi Regis Bragmannorum de philosophia per litteras facta conlatio*; 66^v—74 *Epistolae Senecae ad apostolum Paulum et Pauli ad eundem*; 74 *Abbreviatio chronicae*; 75—108^v Gregory the Great, *De concordia testimoniorum*.

The entire manuscript was copied by a single scribe in one column of twenty lines to the page. The titles, subscriptions, and dates of the Correspondence are in mixed uncials; the titles are usually in red. The few corrections are by a contemporary hand. The notice from Jerome is not found. Epp. 11, 13, and 14 have dates. I collated this manuscript in August 1936, and also have photostats.

- C Berne, Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek, 225, parchment, ff. 1—31 XII cent., 32—87 XI cent., 88—103 IX cent., in-quarto. H. Hagen, *Catalogus Codd. Bernensium* (Berne, 1875) 275 f. Ff. 1—2 *Tractatus theologici*; 2^v—15 Cassiodorus, *Liber de anima*; 15—16 *Epistolae beati Pauli ad Senecam et Senecam (sic) ad Paulum*; 16—22 *Seneca ad Lucilium*, Ep. 1; 22—25^v *Epistula fratris P. ad magistrum N.*; 25^v—31 Letters of Ivo Carnotensis; 32—50 Jerome, *Liber de illustribus viris*; 50^v *Vita Hieronymi*; 50^v—62 Gennadius, *Liber de illustribus viris*; 62^v—84^v Cassiodorus, *De institutione divinarum scripturarum*; 85—85^v Jerome, *De duodecim scriptoribus*; 85^v—87 *Epistolae Pauli ad Senecam (corr. in Senecam) et Senece ad Pulum (sic)*; 87—87^v Jerome, Ep. 53; 88—97 *Catalogus episcoporum Romanorum*; 97—103^v Jerome, *Liber de illustribus viris*.

Of the two copies of the Correspondence in this manuscript the second (ff. 85^v—87) is the one to which

¹ Cf. p. 96.

I have assigned the letter **C**. It is written in one column of thirty-seven lines to the page. Ep. 14 and the notice from Jerome are missing. Epp. 10—13 have dates. The first copy of the Correspondence is not represented in my apparatus. It is a gemellus of **D**, but does not contain 1. My collations of both copies are from photostats in my possession¹.

- D** Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1637, parchment, XII cent., mm. 227 × 160, ff. 96. The manuscript is now bound in two volumes. The first consists of ff. 1—19, containing Hugo Rothomagensis, *De memoria* (published from this manuscript in Martène, *Amplissima Collectio* IX, 1185 = Migne, *P. L.* 192, 1299), and was removed from the original single volume by the French in 1798. It bears the red stamp of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The other volume consists of two parts: Part I, ff. 20—69v Seneca, *Declamationes*; 69v—72 *Epistulae senatoris Seneca ad Paulum apostolum et Pauli ad Senecam*; 72—77 Seneca, *De clementia*; Part II, 78—96 *Naturalia aliquorum per ordinem alphabeti*. Part II is from another manuscript, in which its folios were numbered 230—[248]. On f. 20 is found a note: *Isaacus Vossius emptione ... Mureti(?)*.

The Correspondence is written in one column of twenty-six lines to the page. The notice from Jerome is added after the letters. Epp. 11—14 have dates. I collated this manuscript in the autumn of 1936, and also have photostats.

- E** Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 262, parchment, pp. 1—50 X cent., 51—66 XI cent., 67—165 X cent., mm. 191 × 150. G. Meier, *Catalogus Codd. MSS. qui in Bibl. Monasterii Einsiedlensis O. S. B. servantur* (Einsiedeln, 1899) 236 f.

¹In the case of manuscripts which I have not personally examined I list the contents according to the catalogues or other published descriptions which I cite.

Pp. 1—50 *Vita S. Antigoni et Euphrasiae uxoris*; 51—58 Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus, beginning with the words *nec ita in orbem terrarum* of Ep. 4; 58—65 *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum apostolum Paulique similiter ad eundem*; 65—66 A fragment of an unidentified letter, a more complete copy of which is found in codex W, f. 63v¹; 67—165 Augustine, *Liber enchiridion*; 166 *Concordatum Wormatiense anno 1122*. Part II (pp. 51—66) constitutes a single quaternion, whose text is incomplete at both ends.

The titles and some of the subscriptions in the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul are in red. Epp. 11, 13, and 14 have dates. The notice from Jerome is not found. There was apparently one contemporary corrector. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

F Strasbourg, C. VI. 5, parchment, in-quarto, destroyed by fire in 1870. Ff. 1—4 Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul; ?—8 Epistles of Seneca to Lucilius, I 1—3 (as far as 3, 5 *sic utrosque*); 9—?² Epistles of Seneca to Lucilius 90—124 (commencing 90, 18 *-renda artibus fecimus*). This manuscript had been sent to Freiburg for F. Bücheler in 1863. His study of the manuscript was reported in a communication to the Philologen-Versammlung of Trier and published as: *Senecae epistulae aliquot ex Bambergensi et Argentoratensi codd.* (Bonn, 1879). From this is copied the description in E. Westerburg, *Der Ursprung der Sage, dass Seneca Christ gewesen sei* (Berlin, 1881) 39. According to Bücheler the manuscript had originally contained Seneca, Epp. 89—124 complete. The first quaternion had been removed and its place was taken by another quaternion containing the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul, followed by the beginning of the letters to Lucilius. The

¹ Cf. p. 23.

² The total number of folios in the manuscript is not known.

main part of the manuscript, Bücheler believed, was written in the IX/X cent. He did not state whether the date of the substituted portion (the first quaternion) was different.

While the manuscript was in the hands of Bücheler, the St. Paul correspondence was collated by F. X. Kraus, who published a text with introduction and apparatus criticus in an article, 'Der Briefwechsel Pauli mit Seneca', *Theologische Quartalschrift* 49 (1867) 603—624. Kraus reports that these letters stood on ff. 1—4. He assigned the writing to the IX cent. The text of the letters was complete, preceded by the notice from Jerome. The dates, the salutations of 1 and 4—14, and many of the initials were left for a rubricator, who failed to do his part in the copying of the manuscript. My knowledge of its readings is derived entirely from Kraus, who called it *Arg. 1*. In the apparatus of Westerborg it has the letter A.

- G** Angers, Bibliothèque Publique, 284, parchment, XI cent., mm. 372 × 282, ff. 112. *Cat. gén. des mss. des bibl. publ. de France* 31 (1898) 281 f. Ff. 1 Orosius and Augustine; 7 Augustine, Extracts; 11v Prosper, *Responsiones*; 14 Bede, *Super parabolis Salomonis*; 39 Gennadius, *Capitula diffinitionum*; 41v Augustine, *Soliloquium*; 51v Isidore, *Liber soliloquiorum*; 61 Bede, *Expositio in libro Tobiae*; 65—65v *Epistulae Senece ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*; 65v Augustine, *De immortalitate animae*; 69v Augustine, *De disciplina Christiana*; 73 *Effrem levite libri V*; 85v Odo, *Collationes*; 110v Jerome, *De Malcho*. The manuscript came from the abbey of Saint-Serge.

This copy of the Correspondence contains only 1—9, without the notice from Jerome. It is written in three columns (two on the recto and one on the verso of f. 65) of fifty lines each. Two lines of the last column are blank. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

H Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 119, parchment, XII cent., mm. 330 × 235, ff. 136. A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini* I (Vatican Library, 1937) 260—262. Ff. 1—86 Hugo of St. Laurentius, *De claustro animae*; 86—88 *Epistolae Paulo a Seneca transmissae*; 90—135 Passions of martyrs (Dom Wilmart, 'Analecta Reginensia' in *Studi e Testi* 59 [Vatican City, 1933] 323—362). On a back flyleaf is the date m.cc.xl.iii.

The Correspondence is in two columns of thirty-three lines to the page. The notice from Jerome precedes. The titles are in red and 10—14 have dates. The corrections are all by the first hand. I collated this manuscript in 1936, and also have photostats.

J Strasbourg, C. VI. 17, parchment, end of the XI cent., in-quarto, destroyed by fire in 1870. I know this manuscript only from the collation of Kraus (cf. MS. F), who reports it as *Arg.* 2. It was apparently sent to Freiburg with F for Bücheler, from which fact I judge that it also contained the first 88 Epistles of Seneca to Lucilius. It had formerly been MS. 3 at St. Mary's in Ottenburg. The Correspondence was preceded by the notice from Jerome.

K Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 147, parchment, in four parts, ff. 1—60, 70—77 XII cent., 61—69 XII/XIII cent., 78—97 XV cent., ff. 1—77 mm. 275 × 180, 78—97 mm. 260 × 170. A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini* I (Vatican Library, 1937) 352—355. Ff. 1—26 Letters of Ivo Carnotensis; 27—29^v Letters of Alexander and Dindimus; 29^v—30^v Letters of Seneca and St. Paul; 30^v—32^v Seneca, *De clementia* and notices about Seneca and Cato; 33—54 Glosses on Hebrew names; 55—59 Glosses on Latin words; 60 Grammatical selections; 61—69 *Incipiunt anni ab incarnatione domini*; 70—77 *Passio S. Georgii*; 78—97 Fragments of Justinus. The chronicle on ff. 61—69 is for the

years 1—1364, the part from 1085 having entries in numerous hands. It is difficult to tell where the original list ended, though it may have been in 1087. The latter part has been edited by F. Liebermann, 'The Annals of Lewes Priory', *The English Historical Review* XVII (1902) 83—89. Many entries show that the manuscript was in Lewes; cf. on the year 1085 (not by the original hand): *Obiit domina Gundrada huius loci cometissa*. This Gundrada was the wife of William of Warren, Earl of Surrey. The manuscript was put together by the Petaus.

The letters of Seneca and St. Paul are written in two columns of forty-two lines to the page. The notice from Jerome precedes and none of the letters bears a date. All corrections are by the original scribe. I collated this manuscript in 1935, and also have photostats.

- L Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 90. inf., parchment, late XI cent., mm. 305 × 182, ff. 90, in Beneventan script. The best description is in M. C. Gertz, *L. Annaei Senecae Dialogorum Libri XII* (Copenhagen, 1886) pp. III—XXIX, which I follow in part. Ff. 1—2 Contents, etc. in a late hand; 3—87v Seneca, *Dialogi XII*; 88—90 Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul; 90 Epitaph of Seneca; 90v Additions in a late hand. I judge that the pagination was entered in the manuscript after Gertz studied it, since what is now f. 88 is reported by him as f. 86, etc. The contents of the last pages need to be described more in detail. Dialogue XII ended at the bottom of 87v without subscription. F. 88r, which should have contained the notice from Jerome, the first letter, and the salutation of the second letter of the Correspondence, was left blank and the same scribe recommenced on 88v with the *Litteras tuas* of 2, 2. This omitted material is now actually found on 88r, having been added by a hand that is not earlier than the XIV cent. The

pages of the Correspondence are written in one column of thirty-four lines to the page. In the part containing the Dialogues, Gertz distinguishes five correctors (A²—A⁶) from the XII cent. on. More than one of these have been busy in the last few pages also. Throughout the text, corrections are made by erasure of the original writing and by inter-linear and marginal variants. The latter are, for the most part, of little value. I have reported in the apparatus and have ascribed to L² all cases of corrections which are made by changing the original writing, at the same time reconstructing the hand of L wherever possible. Of the inter-linear and marginal variants I give only a few¹. They are mostly by the hand which Gertz calls A⁶. Ep. 11 (12 in previous editions) was not omitted by the original scribe, as stated by Gertz. On the other hand, a second copy of it was added by the corrector, who found it necessary to make or to suggest so many changes in the original copy that he wrote it out in full to suit himself in the first available space, namely after the epitaph on 90r.

Ff. 88—90 were first described by C. Wachsmuth in *Rhein. Mus.* XVI (1861) 301—3. He assigned the manuscript to the IX cent. A number of readings unused before were published from the manuscript with a few suggested emendations. There are several errors in his short note, which was used by Kraus (*op. cit.* for MS. F). In the editions of Kraus and Westerburg the Milan MS. has the letter M. Westerburg used a complete collation, made for

¹ There are two quotations from the Lexicon of Papias, both wrongly read by Wachsmuth (*Rh. Mus.* XVI 303). The story of Vatienus at the end of 7. is told in the style of medieval commentaries and contains amusing errors and anachronisms. It reads as follows: *Paulus consul iuit in persiam pugnaturus cum rege persarum. Et die quo pugnauit et uictoriam habuit, in agro reatino uatiengo cuidam rustico relatum fuit per duos transeuntes, qui postea dicti sunt castor et pollux, quod paulus pugnauerat et uicerat. Iste rusticus illis abeuntibus iuit romam et retulit hoc in palatio. Qui captus et detentus fuit, donec uenerunt litterae pauli de uictoria. Et sic ille rusticus reputatus fuit tamquam propheta.*

him by Wachsmuth. The description of this valuable manuscript is repeated in all editions of the Dialogues of Seneca, which I need not mention individually. Ff. 52v—53 are reproduced in Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* II Plate 167. F. 88v is reproduced, with a description of the manuscript, in E. M. Thompson, *Paleografia greca e latina*, tr. by G. Fumagalli, 3rd edition (Milan, 1911) 187—9 and Plate III. For the date, which has been very differently estimated, I accept the opinion of E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914) 71 and 341. The manuscript was written at Monte Cassino, according to Loew. In 1583 it belonged to Antonio Francesco Caracciolo at Messina. It was in Milan in 1603. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

- M Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14436, parchment, X and XI cent., in-quarto, ff. ii + 119, wrongly bound. *Catalogus Codd. Lat. Bibl. Regiae Monacensis* II 2 (Munich, 1876) 172. Ff. 1—9, 83—108 *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; 10—32, 35—58 *Somnium Scipionis* and commentary of Macrobius; 32v—33v *Epistolae illustris viri Senecae magistri Neronis ad Paulum apostolum et ad Senecam Pauli*; 58—61 Excerpts from Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*; 67—82 Boethius, *In ysagogas Porphyrii*, I; 108—113 Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*; 113v—118 Arithmetical and rhetorical fragments. The manuscript came from St. Emmeran.

The Correspondence is written in one column of thirty lines to the page. There are numerous corrections, possibly all by the first hand. The notice from Jerome precedes and there are no dates. The title is in the margin¹. I collated the manuscript in 1935, and also have photostats.

¹ In the margin beside 14 by a contemporary hand are two quotations from Papias: 1) *Legimus enim species auri nunc zaab nunc ofaz (ex ofaz) nunc tarsis nunc obriza*; 2) *Zaba momentum (munimentum m¹) in praelio uirorum fortium*. These notes seem to have no connection with the text.

N Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 18467, parchment, mm. 280 × 180, ff. 1—2 XII cent., 3—69 XI/XIII cent., 70—119 XIII cent. *Catalogus Codd. Lat. Bibl. Regiae Monacensis* II 3 (Munich, 1878) 167. Ff. 1v—2 Clerical rules; 2—2v Letters of Seneca and St. Paul, without title; 3—69v *Decretum abbreviatum*; 70—119 *Paucapaleae Summa de decreto*. The manuscript contains the ex-libris of Tegernsee.

F. 2 is in one column of forty-six lines. The text ends abruptly on the top of 2v with the words *non legitime* (7, 11). The rest of the page is blank. On 2r is a note: *Quere E 23 pro complete epistularum Seneca ad Paulum vel contra*. This appears to refer to another manuscript in the same library (Tegernsee?), which was not incomplete. The notice from Jerome and the epitaph of Seneca precede the letters in this manuscript, which I collated in 1935.

O Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8539, parchment, XI cent., mm. 200 × 160, ff. 95. *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae* IV (Paris, 1744) 468. Ff. 1—2v *Epistolae ad Paulum apostolum*; 2v—95v Letters of Seneca to Lucilius, 1—88 (cf. edition of Hense [Leipzig, 1914] p. VIII). The manuscript was formerly Colbert 5336. There is a reproduction of f. 22v in Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* II Plate 171 No. 2.

The pages are written in one column. The notice from Jerome precedes and the epitaph of Seneca follows the Correspondence. The titles of 10—14 are omitted, as are all the dates. I collated this manuscript in the summer of 1936 and again in 1937.

P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2772, parchment, X cent., mm. 183 × 140, ff. 108. *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae* III (Paris, 1744) 329 f. Ff. 1—3 Dates, grammatical notes, and a prayer (the works of Prosper now on f. 4 were originally started on 2v, but abandoned); 4—27v Epigrams

of Prosper; 28—50 Medical poems of Serenus; 50—50^v A poem now in the *Anthologia Latina* (cf. ed. Riese [Leipzig, 1906] Index to Vol. I, p. 397); 50^v—53^v *Epistulae Lucii An- nei Seneca Cordubensis philosophi ad Paulo* (sic) *apostolum et Pauli apostoli ad eundem*; 53^v—55 *Anth. Lat.*; 55^v—56 Selection from Augustine; 56—58 *Anth. Lat.*; 58^v—62^v Résumés of Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, Octavian's *De Virgilio*, and a poem *De comunibus syllabis*; 63—70 Hilarius, *De martirio Macchabeorum*; 70^v—75^v Tertullian on Sodom and Nineveh; 76—89 Poems of Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola; 89^v—98 *Disticha Catonis*; 98^v—102^v Martinus Bracarensis, *De formula honestae vitae*, without the preface; 103—107 *Sententiae philosophorum*; 107^v—108 *Anth. Lat.*; 108^v Selection from Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*. The following note of ownership is found more than once: *Iste liber est de conventu pardi*. The manuscript later was Colbert 3898.

Most of the manuscript is the work of two scribes, the first having copied ff. 4—76, the other 79—108. The Seneca and St. Paul letters are written in one column of twenty-six lines to the page. The titles are in a much faded red ink. There are corrections by one later hand. Epp. 10—12 have partial dates. The letters themselves are in the following confused order: 1, 7, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 10, 12, 3, 4, 9; but they are numbered consecutively 1—12 in the order in which they actually appear. Epp. 13 and 14 are omitted¹. I collated this manuscript in the summer of 1936 and again in 1937, and also have photostats.

Q Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 12295, parchment, XII cent., mm. 314 × 224, ff. I + 168. L. Delisle, *Inventaire*

¹ At the top of 51^v and by another hand is the sentence: *Notum michi fac michi finem meum dare*. This is from *Psalm* 38, 5 with the abbreviation for *domine* corrupted to *dare*, in the same ignorant manner that is shown throughout by the first scribe. It may be added that this same quotation is found in the prayer at the beginning of the manuscript.

des mss. 11504—14231 du fonds latin (Paris, 1868) 46. Ff. 1—150 Paschasius Radbertus, *Exposition of Jeremiah*; 151—153 *Epistulae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*; 153—161^v Seneca, *De copia verborum*; 161^v—168 Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus. The entire manuscript was copied by a single scribe in two columns of thirty lines to the page. The scribe's name may be obtained by putting together a series of letters found at the top of the last page of each gathering: HVGO DE CASTRIS ARMARIVS ME FECIT. This manuscript was formerly St. Germain des Prés 308 (olim 586).

The titles of the letters of Seneca and St. Paul are in red. The notice from Jerome precedes and 10—14 have dates. I collated this manuscript in the summer of 1936, and also have photostats.

- R Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 434, parchment, IX cent., mm. 305 × 220, ff. 132 + 13bis. *Cat. gén. des mss. des bibl. publ. de France* 38 (Paris, 1904) 587 f. Ff. 1—2 *Epistolae Pauli et Senecae*; 3 The dedicatory poem of Alcuin (cf. MS. B, f. 41^v); 4 Bede, *De gratia Dei*; 12 Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum*; 122^v Selections from Gregory. This manuscript was among the books given to the chapter-library of Reims by Archbishop Hincmar.

The Correspondence is written in two columns of thirty-one lines to the page. The corrections all appear to be contemporary. The notice from Jerome is not found, nor is any of the letters dated. The order of the letters, which are unnumbered, is unusual. They are arranged thus: 1—2, 7—14, 3—6, yet without any indication that some of them are misplaced. Possibly 3—6 occupied one page or column of the manuscript from which R was copied and the scribe omitted them, not noticing it until later. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

- S** St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 197, parchment, IX/X cent., mm. 255 × 185, pp. 398. G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Hss. der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875) 72 ff. This codex is made up of five separate manuscripts. The first part contains on pp. 1—87 Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*; 87—91 *Epistolae Senecae ad apostolum Paulum et Pauli ad eundem*; 92 (XIII cent.) Two poems from the *Anth. Lat.*

This part of the manuscript is written in one column of thirty-two lines. The corrections in the Correspondence may all be by the first hand. The notice from Jerome is not found. Epp. 11, 13, and 14 have dates. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

- T** Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 500, parchment, end of the X cent., in-octavo. *Cat. gén. des mss. des bibl. publ. des départements* V (Paris, 1879) 187 ff. The manuscript is wrongly bound. Ff. 1—5^v *Eulogium Hubaldi de calvis*; 6—8^v and 25—27 Letters of Seneca and St. Paul; 9—24^v and 136—160^v Glosses of Aynard (Loewe and Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* [Leipzig, 1888—1923] I 148; V, XXXIV and 615—625). Other works are: *Versus de quattuor temporibus anni*; Poems of Alcuin and Sedulius; Symmachus, *Relationes*; *Res Gestae* of Alexander and his letter to Aristotle, *De situ Indiae*. Without seeing the manuscript it is impossible to be more precise about the contents, since the catalogue gives no folio numbers. The manuscript came from Saint-Arnoul.

The letters of Seneca and Paul are written in one column of twenty-one lines to the page, in a hand different from that of ff. 1—5. The notice from Jerome precedes. Epp. 10—13 have dates, but the text of 14 stops abruptly with the word *parit*, one line short of the bottom of f. 27. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

U Zürich, Zentralbibliothek (formerly Stadtbibliothek), C 129 (453), parchment, IX cent., mm. 200 × 188, ff. 106. Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Hss. der Zentralbibliothek Zürich I* (Zürich, 1932) 62. Ff. 2—94 *Liber hermeneumatum*; 95^v—96^v *Commemoratio genealogiae Karoli imperatoris*; 97—99^v Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul, without title; 99^v Epitaph of Seneca; 100—100^v *Haec nomina fortium* . . .; 101^v—102 Fragment of Notker Balbulus; 103^v Letter of Hippocrates; 104^v—105 Fragment of Isidore, *Etymologiae*. The other pages are blank, or bear only pentrials and odd notes. A stamp and two inscriptions on f. 1 show that the manuscript was once at St. Gall.

The miscellaneous contents of ff. 95—106 are written by several hands and are unrelated to the main part of the manuscript, but nearly contemporary in date. The Correspondence is written in one column of twenty-one lines to the page and is preceded by the notice from Jerome. Only 13 and 14 have dates. There was one contemporary corrector. By the XIII cent. the ink had chipped off from the page in several places, especially on the lower half of f. 99 (12, 1—13, 7 *virtutes*), for at that time the more illegible passages were retraced by a scribe who either could not decipher or did not know how to read the original text. It is often impossible to tell whether the readings in these rewritten sections represent errors of the original scribe whenever they differ from all other known manuscript readings. It is fairly certain, however, that grammatically impossible forms such as *dedisset retineat* (13, 5) could not have been errors of the first hand, which is generally quite accurate. In so far as it was possible to judge from a careful inspection of the manuscript itself, I have indicated in the apparatus criticus whether these variants of the third hand represent the original text of the manuscript. My collation was made in July 1937.

- V Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1424, parchment, X cent., mm. 148×112 (irregular), ff. 98. Ff. 1—1v *Senecae et Pauli epistularis collocutio*; 2—3 Various grammatical and musical notes; 3v—4 *Sententiae Senecae*; 4v—19v *Disticha Catonis*; 20—34v Audradus, *Carmen de ponderibus*; 35—57 Fables of Avianus; 57—59v Maximianus, *Eleg. I* 1—120 (59v *Hactenus Cornelius Gallus*); 60v—81v Satires of Persius, with extensive commentary on part of Sat. I; 82—90 Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Lib. I; 91—94 *Remefanii Tractatus de ponderibus*; 94v *Formata episcoporum*; 95—98v Boethius, *In arithmetica*, incomplete. The manuscript consists of several different parts by more than one scribe. Perhaps they were put together by M. Daniel, whose ex-libris is on f. 90v. The manuscript is also mentioned in the following works: L. Traube, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* III 70 (X or X/XI cent.); H. Usener, *Anecdota Holderi* 56 (XI cent.); Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* V 315 (XI cent.); D. M. Robathan, 'Two Unreported Persius Manuscripts', *Class. Philol.* 26 (1931) 284—301 (XII cent.)¹.

The first quaternion is in one column of fifteen lines to the page. F. 1 contains only 1—3, 3, as far as *statum eis de*, preceded by the notice from Jerome. Since the last line of 1v is blank and since other parts of the manuscript are in the same hand, it seems to me unlikely that this copy ever went further. I collated this manuscript in 1935, and also have photostats.

- W Wolfenbüttel, Herzogliche Bibliothek, 4642 (335 Gud. Lat.), parchment, XI cent., mm. 140×115, ff. 87. *Die Hss. der Herz. Bibl. zu Wolfenbüttel*: IV *Die Gudischen Hss.* (Wolfenbüttel, 1913) 251 ff. Ff. 1—30v Cicero, *De amicitia*;

¹ For some of this bibliography I am indebted to Prof. E. T. Silk of Yale University, who believes that the parts containing Boethius were written in the IX cent.

30v—37v Cicero, *Pro rege Deiotaro*; 38v—42 Various poems; 43—54 Controversies of Cicero and Sallust; 54—56v Fulgentius, *Glossae*; 56v—57v Excerpts from the commentary of Remigius on Martianus Capella; 59—63v *Epistulae ad S. Paulum transmissae a Seneca*; 63v—64v An unidentified and unpublished letter, more complete than the copy in MS. E, ff. 65—66¹; 65—86 Twelve selected letters of Seneca to Lucilius (cf. ed. Hense XVIII ff.); 86—87v Augustine, *Sermo in Oct. Epiphani*.

The Correspondence is written in one column of twenty (and twenty-one) lines to the page in a hand different from the rest of the manuscript. The notice from Jerome precedes. Epp. 10, 11, 13, and 14 have dates. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

- X Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 969, parchment, IX cent., mm. 270 × 191, ff. 73. *Tabulae Codd. MSS. praeter Gr. et Orient. in Bibl. Pal. Vind. asservatorum* I (Vienna, 1864) 168. Ff. 1—46v Aldhelm, *De virginitate*, with German glosses; 46v—55 Aldhelm, *De octo principalibus vitiis*; 55v Epitaph of Charlemagne and other fragments; 56—62v *Disticha Catonis*²; 62v—70 Seneca, *Proverbia*; 70—72v Letters of Seneca and St. Paul, without title; 73—73v *Sententiae Jesu filii Sirahc* (sic). The manuscript is described by H. von Fallersleben, *Verzeichniss der Altdeutschen Hss. der k. k. Hofbibl. zu Wien* (Leipzig, 1841) No. 385. There were three scribes, the first having written ff. 1—55, the second ff. 56—72, and the third f. 73. There is a distinct division after f. 55, but both parts were written in one column of twenty-seven lines to the page and at approxi-

¹ The letter is addressed to a man whose name, in the vocative, is *Erdemi*. It is made up entirely of adapted sentences from Seneca (beginning with Ep. 17) and Christian sentiments.

² This manuscript has never been used by editors and text-critics of the *Disticha Catonis*.

mately the same time. For a very complete description cf. H. J. Hermann, *Die Frühmittelalterlichen Hss. des Abendlandes* = *Verzeichnis der Ill. Hss. in Österreich* NF I (1923) No. 32, pp. 120 ff., with reproductions of the initials on ff. 1, 2v, and 3v. To judge from the illumination of the first part, the manuscript was written in South Germany (Mainz?) under Irish influence in the middle of the IX cent. The script resembles that of St. Gall and Reichenau. The manuscript came from Mainz, according to the inscription on 8r: CODEX SCI ALBANI.

The letters of Seneca and St. Paul are without title. The *Proverbia* ending on 87r has a double signature, the second part of which does not refer to any work now found in the manuscript: EXPLICATVM ANNEI SENICE PROVERBIA | FINIT SYNONIMA CICERONIS. The notice from Jerome precedes the Correspondence. Only 1—12 are found. Epp. 10 and 11 have dates. I assume that the text of 13 and 14 and possibly the date of 12 have been lost, for at present f. 72 is a single leaf, rather than half of a folded sheet. The titles of 9—12 were not filled in by the rubricator. I collated this manuscript in July 1936, and also have photostats.

- Y Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 751, parchment, IX cent., mm. 290×196, ff. 188. *Tabulae Codd. MSS. praeter Gr. et Orient. in Bibl. Pal. Vind. asservatorum* I (Vienna, 1864) 126. Ff. 1—77 Epistles of St. Boniface and others; 78—128v Acts of the Apostles, Epistle of James, I Peter; 129—162 Old German glosses; 162 Fragment of the letters of Seneca and St. Paul, followed by a brief selection beginning: *Haec nomina forcium* . . .¹; 163—164v Augustine, *De ebrietate*²;

¹ Cf. MS. U, f. 100.

² At the end of 163v is a poor distich:
*Cuiusque operis finem uenit,
 Premium finem non habet.*

165—166^v Sermons and notices; 167—172^v Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Capitula ad presbyteros*; 173—187^v Councils; 188 Fragment of Bede; 188^v Latin and German incantations. The manuscript is described by H. von Fallersleben (*op. cit.* p. 23) No. 379. It is made up of many unrelated parts. There is a full description in Hermann (*op. cit.* p. 24) No. 33, pp. 122 ff., with reproductions of the initials on ff. 119 and 173^v. To judge from the illumination it was written in West Germany in the middle of the IX cent. A note on 166^v shows that it was in Cologne before the X cent. It may have been taken to Vienna from Cologne in the early part of the XV cent. by Caspar von Nidbruch (Lehmann in Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen* III 1 [1908] 92).

F. 162, although in the same hand as the preceding quaternion, is a single fragmentary leaf in two columns of thirty-five lines each, containing 12, 9 *quippe cum scias* to the end of the letters. Epp. 13 and 14 have dates. The upper corner of the page is torn and some words of 14 are damaged or gone entirely. I collated this manuscript in 1936, and also have photostats.

Z Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 300, parchment, XI cent., in-quarto, ff. 124. *Cat. gén. des mss. des bibl. publ. des départements* V (Paris, 1879) 131 f. Ff. 3—5^v *Epistulae Senecae ad Paulum apostolum et Pauli ad Senecam*; 5^v Seneca's epitaph; 5^v—124 Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, 1—88 (cf. ed. Hense XIV ff.). On the last page is found a poem of twenty-seven leonine hexameters, published by O. Rossbach, 'De Senecae Philosophi Librorum Recensione et Emendatione', *Bresl. Philol. Abh.* II 3 (1888) 63, n. 59. Four lines are quoted on p. 112. The manuscript came from Saint-Arnoul.

The Correspondence is written in one column of thirty lines to the page. The notice from Jerome precedes. Epp.

10—14 have dates. There appear to be one nearly contemporary corrector and two or three of the XIII cent. My collation is from photostats in my possession.

II. Classification

The stemma will be found at the back of the book, just before Plate I. In it are explained all the Greek characters used in the following discussion. A complete list of the manuscripts is given on the page preceding the text.

A. The notice from Jerome

The presence or absence of Ch. 12 of Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* in a certain number of the manuscripts of the Seneca and St. Paul correspondence bears no direct relation to their classification. The fact that it is found in **VZ** and in all the complete manuscripts of β (i. e. all except **Y**), but not in **P**, makes it probable that it was in Σ , the archetype of all the extant manuscripts except **P**. It had been lost in the ancestor of **CD** (but reinstated after the Correspondence in **D**) and in δ . In **WQ** it was restored, along with a certain amount of other material, from β . The variants in this brief chapter are insignificant. *Fotini* (line 2) is attested by nearly all the manuscripts. I suspect that a search of the manuscripts of Jerome would show that it already existed in one or more of them. *Aut* and *et* (line 6) are in both α and β , and are both attested by Jerome manuscripts, the oldest of which has *aut*.

B. The Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul

Of the twenty-five manuscripts which I have examined for this edition twenty are derived from two lost copies (α and β)

of a single lost MS. Σ , four (HJKN) exhibit varying degrees of contamination between these two groups and one (P) represents an entirely separate tradition. I shall first try to establish the independence of P, then I shall show how the other manuscripts are divided, and finally I shall indicate the importance of P in those readings where the other manuscripts are at variance.

P

The errors of P are almost appalling in their number for such a short text, but one gradually realizes from studying them that they indicate several definite facts about the original codex from which this text was copied. Letter-confusions, spelling, abbreviations, omissions of words and phrases, changes in the cases of nouns and the persons and moods of verbs, as well as a few examples of deliberate emendation—all these phenomena are well represented in P. I shall attempt to prove that the scribe of P was copying directly from a manuscript with majuscule writing, numerous abbreviations, and very short lines.

The clearest evidence is that concerning the length of the line in the original text. There are four omissions in P which are greater than one word in extent. The omission of *neque-proderit* (8, 11), consisting of twenty-one letters, is probably due to homoeoteleuton, since the preceding word also ends in *-erit*. The other cases are:

1, 13	rerum tantaque	13 letters
11, 13/14	in his-omnia	38 letters
11, 16/17	cui-est ¹	25 letters

There are likewise three cases of inverted word-order:

7, 1	PHILOSALVTEM ante LVCIVS	12 letters
7, 2/3	Profiteor post tuarum	38 letters
7, 13	solere post innocentium (ore om.)	13 letters

¹ This may also be due to homoeoteleuton.

The puzzling *frontes missus*¹ after 3 also contains thirteen letters. Assuming that the omissions are of one or more complete lines, we have sufficient proof that each line in the older manuscript consisted of twelve to thirteen letters, while the inversions represent words omitted in the original, added in the margin by a corrector, and restored to the text in the wrong place by P. Such short lines are very rarely found in minuscule manuscripts, but are more common in majuscule ones with, presumably, more than one column to the page. A well-known example, with lines of nearly this length, is the *De Re Publica* of Cicero, in uncials².

Further evidence of the short lines is seen in the word-division and spacing of P throughout the manuscript, but especially in 1 (cf. Plate I). Twelve of the fourteen lines on 50v begin with large letters, although they are often in the middle of a sentence. Once the capitalization occurs in the middle of a word (*aliQuam*). The separation of words on this whole page seems to divide each line into groups, often of eleven to thirteen letters, e. g. *Deapocrifis | &altisrebus | habuerimerant*.

Errors arising from confusion in reading the *scriptura continua*, which was certainly a feature of P's original, include:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 3, 4 | simefors |
| 4, 4 | uoiireceperis (<i>pro uenire ceperis</i>) |
| 5, 2 | seces suangimur |
| 9, 3 | ci sari (Caesari) |
| 9, 3 | satisfecisti (<i>ex -sari feci?</i>) |
| 10, 4 | profer sussum (<i>corr. m²</i>) |
- Cf. also *dm efficias* 8,10 (p. 31).

¹ Is it possibly an erroneous expansion of an abbreviation for *fratres carissimi*? This would fit into the salutation of 7. I find no place where *frontes missus* could belong.

² The average length of a line in this manuscript is discussed by A. C. Clark in *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918) 124—138, together with a detailed analysis of the evidence for a similarly short line in the exemplar of this famous palimpsest.

Some of the errors of **P** arose because the scribe misunderstood errors in his original of a type which was unknown in the tenth century. This is immediately apparent in 11, 14, when we find *quis* where all the other manuscripts have *quasi*. This confusion was caused by the presence in the original of an abbreviation for *quasi*, which consisted of the letters QS with suprascript stroke¹. The copyist who had to guess at its meaning was likely to choose *quis*, or possibly *quibus*.

The existence in majuscule manuscripts of a system of abbreviations very different from those of minuscule manuscripts has long been recognized in the case of legal treatises. Lindsay has pointed out that they were not confined to such works, by demonstrating the significance of *Pal. Lat. 1753* in the Vatican Library, a manuscript of the *Grammatica* of Marius Victorinus, written at Lorsch in the first half of the ninth century. More recently Rand has shown that a manuscript of Tours, *Bibl. Publ. 286*, which he calls "Pre-Alcuinian", also can be proved to be a copy of a much older manuscript in *scriptura continua*, full of abbreviations unintelligible to the copyist. In this instance the text was Augustine's *De Musica*.

Both the Lorsch and the Tours scribes made valiant attempts to interpret and expand the ancient *notae* which they saw, but all of them² often had to admit failure, in which case they copied exactly what they found before them and transmitted to us the unmistakable proof that their originals were in uncials.

There are twelve certain or nearly certain instances, including that of *quis* for *quasi* already mentioned, of corruption in **P**

¹ The following articles and books are referred to in this discussion of the abbreviations in **P**: Ludwig Traube, 'Nomina Sacra', *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* II (Munich, 1907); W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915); W. M. Lindsay, 'A New Clue to the Emendation of Latin Texts', *Class. Philol.* XI (1916) 270—277; E. K. Rand, 'A Nest of Ancient Notae', *Speculum* II (1927) 160—176.

² Each of these manuscripts is the work of more than one scribe.

about copying. He blundered through everything, making the wildest guesses and, apparently, even emending at times. Consequently our knowledge of the exact nature of his original must be derived from the errors which he made.

There are twelve certain or nearly certain instances, including that of *quis* for *quasi* already mentioned, of corruption in **P** due to misinterpretation of abbreviations, and perhaps as many as eight cases which are less sure.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1, 2 | nurtia testis P ; nuntiatum ω |
| 9, 7/8 | preteri eorum? P ¹ ; preteritum ω |
| 11, 17 | uelamen eorum P ; uelamentum ω |

These three errors all concern the suspension of the final syllable *tum*. Modern lists of ancient *notae*² indicate that this suspension may take the form of T followed by a dot, T with a stroke above, or T with a slanting cross-stroke. These same forms were also used for *testamentum* and *-testate*. The T with the stroke above was probably used for *testis* also since Lindsay found a survival in the Llandaff entries in the St. Chad Gospels, but whether or not it was so used, **P**'s guess is not surprising. More difficult to explain is the guess of *eorum* in the other two cases. Perhaps the T with the cross-stroke resembled an E.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1, 3 | habuerim P ; habuerimus ω |
|------|---|

The ancient *nota* for *-mus* was M with an apostrophe, or even a simple M. Misinterpretation in such cases leaves no cause for wonder³.

- | | |
|------|-----------------------------|
| 3, 4 | me P ; modo ω |
|------|-----------------------------|

¹ *preteri* is at the end of a line; *eorum*, or possibly *torum*, in the next line has been erased by *m*² and the letters *tum* have been attached directly to *preteri*.

² These must be assembled from the four works already cited and from: Th. Mommsen, 'Iuris Anteiustiniani Fragmenta quae dicuntur Vaticana', *Abhandlungen d. k. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1859) 265—408; Th. Mommsen, 'Notarum Laterculi', in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* IV (Leipzig, 1864) 265 ff.; W. Studemund, *Gai Institutionum Commentarii Quattuor* (Leipzig, 1874) 253 ff.

³ A similar error occurs in other manuscripts in 8, 2.

An M with suprascript or postscript small *o* is attested as an ancient *nota* for *modo*. The actual reading of P is *simefors*, the error being made easier by the *scriptura continua*.

5, 2 quidem P; quid est ω

This error, mistaking the abbreviation of *est* for *-em* is not confined to majuscule scripts. It is at least sufficient to prove that *est* was abbreviated in the exemplar.

7, 9 autem P; Augustum ω

No recorded *nota* for *Augustum* omits the *g*; AVM would seem to lead most easily to this error, but AVG is the only probable abbreviation in this case.

7, 15 castus P; Castor ω

The Verona *Gaius* shows T for *-tor* and something similar must have been before the scribe of P, whose stupid ignorance is here heightened by the proximity of Pollux.

8, 2 non P; nostrum ω

The older abbreviations for *nostrum* (N, or N with an *o* above it) are those most likely to be mistaken for *non*. The later N with suprascript *m* to indicate the inflection is much less probable. Agreement with the *a* group in this error may indicate that there was already a mistake in the archetype of all the existing manuscripts and that the proper correction was made by β , unless P and *a* made the same mistake independently, which is not at all impossible in this particular instance.

8, 10 dñm efficias P; dominae facias ω

The reading indicated for P's exemplar is DMEFACIAS, with abbreviation stroke. With the words run together it was natural for P to take *deum* out of DM and to emend the remaining EFACIAS as best he could. Traube indicates that DMS for *dominus* went out of use in the latter part of the fifth century, but is known later in Spain, chiefly in inscriptions, when referring to a "worldly lord", which is exactly its meaning

here. In the one other occurrence of this word in the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul (5, 3) **P** has *dñe*, which may or may not reflect the exact form of the original.

11, 20 quemadmodum **P**; quattuor milia ω

Two recorded ancient *notae* for *quemadmodum* are Q.A.M. and Q.MAM with suprascript *o*. It is not necessary to suppose that the scribe of **P** saw anything which reminded him of one of these, since his real task was to interpret the abbreviation which he found. In this case **M** was most probably used for *milia*, perhaps QV or QVA for *quattuor*. To have obtained the right reading from such a capricious shortening would have required great ingenuity.

The following errors are possibly due to abbreviations, but the exact form of the abbreviation cannot be determined.

5, 2 quo **P**; quae ω
 8, 5 quid **P**; quod ω
 10, 5 quo **P**; quod ω
 11, 7 quoquo **P**; quo δ CD, quod $Z\beta$

These four all concern an abbreviation of the relative pronoun. Three are probably cases of **Q** with a hooked stroke across the tail of the letter, for *quod*, misinterpreted by the copyist.

7, 10 cuis (*corr. in cuius*) **P**; cui ω
 7, 12 ergo **P**; ego ω

Such mistakes occur easily under any circumstances and are not necessarily due to the fact that the scribe may have interpreted CVI as an abbreviation for *cuius*, and may have understood EG to mean *ergo* rather than *ego*, although CVI for *cuius* and EG for *ego* are among the recorded *notae*.

9, 2 tantum **P**; tam ω

At first glance *tantum* appears to be an expansion of **T** or **TM**, but we must take into account the fact that the error may be due to the following word, which is *tui*. TAMTVI might

suggest *tantum*, as it did to the scribe of A. P, however, did not fail to add *tui* after *tantum*.

10, 8 dñē P; deuote ζ, deuotissime ω

An unusual abbreviation is again the most probable explanation of the reading of P.

It is of the greatest significance that a system of ancient *notae* can be shown to have been used for a text which is by nature so close to that of literary Latin, since previous instances of its use have been confined to legal texts, or to such technical subjects as grammar and music. Each new discovery of the present sort brings us nearer to the possibility of learning that a similar system of abbreviations was used for literary texts.

Further evidence of the character of P's exemplar may be drawn from the letter-confusions in P itself. Lists of the letter-confusions in majuscule manuscripts are to be found in O. Ribbeck, *Prolegomena Critica ad P. Vergili Maronis Opera Maiora* (Leipzig, 1866) 235—259 for manuscripts in capital scripts, and in F. W. Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York, 1904) 33—44, with the articles there mentioned, and A. W. Van Buren, 'The Palimpsest of Cicero's De Re Publica', *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome II* (New York, 1908) 94—110 for manuscripts written in uncials. *altis* for *aliis* (1, 3) is an error which is recognized in the copying of either type of majuscule script. To this may be added *senoca* for *seneca* (1, 1)¹, unless it is merely an unintentional slip of the pen, and also *senos* for *sensus* (7, 6), *furo* for *foro* (11, 7), and *domos* for *domus* (11, 20), which might, however, be due to spelling peculiarities of the individual scribe. The error of *cum* for *eum* (8, 7) is more easily paralleled from uncial than from capital manuscripts, but on the other hand the following errors are

¹ Cf. also what looks like *uotireceperis* for *uentre ceperis* (4,4).

found, some of them very frequently, in capital manuscripts, but are not known to result from copying uncial manuscripts: *nurtia* for *nuntia* (1, 2), *recessceramus* for *secesseramus* (1, 5) and *profer sussum* for *professus sum* (10, 4), *eorum* for *earum* (1, 13) and *quos* for *quas* (7, 3), *melles* for *velles* (8, 7), *pausum* for *pausam* (11, 21). One error, *functus* for *unctus* (12, 4), is not recorded for either type of majuscule script. These confusions are possibly too few in number to allow conclusive deductions, but the fact that all of them are represented in Ribbeck's list, even though some of them have only one example, while nearly two-thirds of them are not represented at all in errors caused by the copying of uncial characters, makes it seem quite probable that **P** was copied from an original which was written in capitals.

The spelling in **P** is very instructive and shows signs of antiquity in the frequent confusion of *b* and *u*, and in such forms as *subplitio*. It is impossible to say to what extent the scribe of **P** unconsciously adapted the spelling to the custom of his own day, but more than forty cases of unusual spellings seem to show that in general he followed his original.

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1) Omission or addition of <i>h</i> : | 10, 8 | aruitrii |
| 1, 5 hortis | 11, 2 | Habe (= Aue), et 12, 2 |
| 6 hii, et 6, 9 | 19 | cremauitur |
| 10 exortationem | 3) <i>b</i> before <i>p, s, t</i> : | |
| 14 ominum | 1, 7 | obtauarimus |
| 2, 2 eri | 2, 10 | obto |
| 6, 2 harundine | 6, 2 | scribsisti (sed 2, 7 scripsistis) |
| 7, 3 chorintiis | | |
| 12 aut (= haud), et 12, 7 | 11, 4 | subplicium |
| 11, 2 Habe (= Aue), et 12, 2 | 15 | subplitio |
| 15 macinator (h suppl.) | 18 | obtimus |
| 2) Confusion of <i>b</i> and <i>u</i> : | 4) <i>d</i> and <i>t</i> : | |
| 3, 5 preues (prebes m ²) pro | 1, 12 | aliquanto |
| preses = praesens | 4, 3 | aliut |
| 8, 11 perseueraberit | 6, 5 | aput, et 12, 10 |
| 12 indignauit | 7, 12 | aut (= haud), et 12, 7 |
| 9, 8 inrogauis | 5) <i>ci</i> and <i>ti</i> ¹ : | |

¹ This confusion and the following are, of course, not confined to the pre-Carolingian period.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1, 10 | exortationem | 7) Other spellings: | |
| 3, 6 | inspitiemus | 1, 3 | apocrifis |
| 6, 7/8 | pacientiam | 2, 5 | comitti |
| 9 | penitentiam | 6 | neglectum |
| 9, 3 | edicione | 9 | sofista |
| 11, 4 | subplicium | 4, 3 | extimo ¹ |
| 15 | subplitio | 6, 4 | pr&ipue |
| 17 | mendatu (<i>pro menda-</i>
cium) | 9, 2 | comonitum |
| 6) e, ae, and oe: | | 11, 5 | putas (<i>n suppl.</i>) |
| 1, 14 | que (<i>pro quae</i>) | 6 | quidquid, et 11, 10; 11,
13 |
| 3, 5 | preues (<i>pro praesens</i>) | 12, 5 | uertix |
| 6, 9 | penitentiam | 9 | temptare |
| 7, 13 | preuaricari | | |

To sum up the arguments of the last few pages, I have tried to show that codex **P** was copied from an ancient manuscript, which was written in short lines of not more than thirteen letters each, in majuscule characters, quite probably capitals, and in *scriptura continua*. This original made considerable use of an ancient system of *notae* which was not well understood in later times, and which was full of unusual spellings, fashionable at an early date². Its date will necessarily be the fifth century, or the sixth at the very latest, partly because of the use of the capital script, partly because of the early abbreviations for *nostrum* and *dominus* (p. 31)³. Such an early date is the more remarkable in that it carries us back to within 100 or 150 years of the time when I believe this Correspondence to have been forged (cf. p. 87).

This unique position is well justified by the readings of **P** against all the other manuscripts which I am about to discuss,

¹ There was an ancient *nota* consisting of X with a vertical stroke to indicate *-xis-*. The spelling *extimo* is, however, common enough so that this instance need not be traced to a *nota*.

² I have not perhaps demonstrated clearly that **P** is a direct copy of this ancient manuscript, without an intermediate apograph. I feel fairly certain that this was the case, for surely the misplacement of the twelve letters in the salutation of 7 and many of the other very numerous errors would not have been allowed to stand through two or more generations. Furthermore the evidence pointing to *scriptura continua* in the exemplar could hardly be expected to survive so fully in subsequent copies.

³ Cf. Traube, *Nomina Sacra* 175—186 and 206—212; also Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* 146—9 and 405.

and which prove that **P** has preserved correctly words that have been corrupted in the other tradition, i. e. in the descendants of Σ .

1, 14 *quehis* **P**; *quibus* *his* **VDZU**, *quibus* ω

The presence of *his* in **VDZ** (*haec* **C**) is sufficient to show that it was in α . It was omitted by δ and apparently by β , though it is found in **U**. Reading *quibus* the sentence is grammatically correct, but with *his* added not only is the double negative awkward, but we must consider *aetates* the antecedent of *quibus* and a word supplied from *hominum* the subject of *possint*, thus separating into two ideas the phrase *aetates hominum*. The *quehis* of **P**, obviously standing for *quae his*, will explain the corruption in Σ , for which there are two possible interpretations. The first is that *quehis* became *quibus* by a graphical confusion, in which case the lost *his* would have been added to Σ in such a way that it was accepted by α , but not by β . The other possibility is that *quae his* became *quibus his* by assimilation, and that the *his* was deleted independently by δ and β , as making no sense. For another example of the same assimilation, see 6, 2 where *quae* following *his* became *quibus*. In the present instance the reading of **P** alone is certainly correct¹.

4, 3 *extimo* **P**; *aestimo* ω

The confusion of *existimo* and *aestimo* is so common that it is seldom of significance, but in this case *aestimo* is impossible and only **P** has preserved the form nearest to the correct one.

7, 15 *apparuerunt* **P**; *adparuissent* ω

Here either form is possible, but I can see no real reason for the use of the subjunctive. I am inclined to believe that the change to the subjunctive was made by someone familiar with

¹ The quotation of this passage by Peter of Cluny (cf. p. 111) is too indirect to be of help in the determination of the text.

the original account of the Vatienuis episode in Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 2, 6 and 3, 5, 11. Similar forms occur there, e. g. *disissent*. It is even more certain that the same passage has influenced the change to *rustici* of the nearby *rusticuli* (line 14), a change which occurs in **P** and δ (cf. p. 60).

8, 3/4 permittit...se **P**; permittit...te *a* (*praeter* **W**), permittes
 ...te **W** β

The reading of *a* is impossible and must be taken to indicate an intermediate stage in the progression of the corruption, whether from the reading of **P** to that of β , or from β to **P**. Paul is reproving Seneca for having read to Nero some treatise with information about the Christian religion. He says: "I am well aware that the Emperor has a certain amount of admiration for us, yet he (according to the interpretation of **P**) allows himself to be informed, without being vexed." The next sentence then explains that the insult lies in informing him about a religion so contrary to his own. The other interpretation is: "I am well aware, etc.; you will, nevertheless, allow me to admonish you (Seneca) without offending you, when I say that you have committed a grave error." The former interpretation has the advantage of unifying the thought of the first sentence. Paleographically, the change of *se* to *te* is probable. This would then call for some sort of correction, which β made by changing the form of the verb. Progressive error in the other direction is far less likely.

9, 3 mearum **P**; tuarum ω

We are forced to decide the question of whose works were read to the Emperor, Paul's or Seneca's? At first thought it may seem that it must have been Paul's, since three of his letters have been mentioned by name in 7, but let us examine all the references to them. In the very first Epistle, Seneca claims to have received much valuable instruction from reading some of the letters which Paul has sent to various cities. In 3, Seneca has been correcting some *volumina*, which he is soon

to show to Nero. But whose *volumina*? If Paul's, then why the insistence in the last sentence that, if it were at all possible, he would not make the presentation until he had had a chance to look the writings over with Paul? If Seneca's, Paul might naturally have some suggestions to make about a work which he had never seen. Seneca, in 7, states first that he has just read Paul's letters to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Achaean. As for the subject-matter, he cannot praise it highly enough, but the manner of expression leaves something to be desired. Then abruptly comes the information that Seneca has read to Nero *virtutis in te exordium*, and that Nero, too, has been struck by Paul's philosophy. Who wrote the *exordium*? It is either a treatise by Seneca on the virtue of Paul and the Christians, or it is a writing of Paul in praise of virtue. Parts of the New Testament such as *I Cor.* 13 come to mind immediately. It is noteworthy, however, that nowhere is it ever stated in unmistakable terms that Paul's own works have been shown to Nero. After the admonishment by Paul in 8 and Seneca's apology in 9, the matter is never mentioned again, unless possibly the *praeconiis . . . rethoricis* of 14, 9 refers to a written tract, rather than to oral praise¹. I find it reasonable to conclude that Seneca himself is supposed to have written an essay on Paul and the Christian religion, which he has finally read to the Emperor, after waiting in vain for a chance to discuss it with Paul first. The *mearum* of P, therefore, is to be preferred to the *tuarum* of all the other manuscripts.

11, 9 cyros P; et post ω

It is immediately evident that the reading of P, adding as it does one more name to the list of tyrants, must be correct.

¹ The Pseudo-Linus (p. 110) apparently takes the reference as meaning the letters of St. Paul, but he may have had a manuscript of the Σ tradition. Immediately afterwards Pseudo-Linus mentions the impression which Paul made upon the Roman senate. Is it possible that he has misunderstood Paul's mention of the senate in 10 to Seneca? I know of no other source for this tradition.

Previous interpretations have always had to deal with a difficult preposition, because there is no point in having Darius and Dionysius mentioned chronologically, especially since Alexander, the latest of all, comes first in the list of tyrants of an earlier age. Comparison should be made with the passage in *De Ben.* VII 3, 1 in which Seneca mentions Alexander, Cyrus, Cambyses and the whole of the Persian royal household as examples of tyrants. The exact cause of the error in Σ is difficult to determine, but the existence of the letters *os* in common in the two readings makes it likely that the error was a graphic one.

11, 15/16 *pro* subplitio effecti; Quod fieri solet **P**; supplicio adfecti fieri
solet (solent δ **CD**) ω

P differs from all the other manuscripts three times in these few words. *effecti* seems to be an error, but the other variants are worthy of attention. *pro* as a preposition has no use here. Therefore I have suggested that it was intended for the interjection. I can see no reason why it should have been added accidentally in **P**; rather it would have been omitted from Σ because it was not understood¹.

The other difference of **P** lies in the addition of *quod*. Σ omits this word, so that *solet* becomes the main verb of the sentence, although *Christiani et Iudaei* is the subject. The change to *solent* in δ **CD** is an easy emendation of this difficulty. It is possibly an emendation of *a*, accepted by δ and **CD**, but not by **Z**. Kraus, however, without knowing any manuscripts which read *solent*, conjectured *ut fieri solet*². This turns out to be quite close to the reading *quod fieri solet*, which now has manuscript authority. *adfecti* becomes the main verb in the

¹ A sentence from Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* IV 16, 10 gives an example of this interjection used so late in a sentence: *Propemodum saeculi res in unum illum diem, pro! fortuna cumulavit*

² Kraus reports that **F** had a full stop before *fieri*.

sentence. It is fairly certain that the reading of **P** is correct and that *quod* was accidentally omitted from Σ .

12, 3 ad id electus P^2 , *ex* ad? dilectus **P**; ad id electus α , dilectus
 (ad id *om.*) β

The exact reading of **P** cannot be determined. The second hand has erased one letter¹ following *ad-*, as well as the *d* of *dilectus*, and has changed the *i* to *e*. This is obviously contamination from an α source. My suggestion is that the missing letter in **P** is *o*, making the original text *adōdilectus*. These words, however, I would not read *adeo dilectus*, another conjectural reading by Kraus in his text, but rather *a Deo dilectus*. There is a parallel for this phrase in the two occurrences of *dilecti a Deo* in the New Testament, *I Thess.* 1, 4 and *II Thess.* 2, 13. Since the reading of α is impossible, it must hold the clue to the error. As an explanation of the variation between α and β we may suppose that Σ had written *ad id electus*, either because he copied wrongly from some form like ADODILECTVS with abbreviation stroke, or because he was trying to emend some mistake of his exemplar, possibly DIDILECTVS. Then in Σ the correction *dilectus* was added, between the lines or in the margin. β would have accepted this correction, while α rejected it.

12, 9 laudare **P**; ludere ω

The general tone of the letters leaves no room for the possibility that Paul may be "making sport of" Seneca. On the other hand Paul's deference to Seneca and his insistence in 10 that he is not worthy of having his name directly after Seneca's in the salutations of his letters may be interpreted as a form of "praising" Seneca. *laudare* is certainly to be preferred to *ludere*.

I have attempted to demonstrate that at least ten of the readings peculiar to **P** alone are better than those of all the

¹ This letter had an abbreviation stroke over it.

other manuscripts. There are other places in which it is more difficult to choose between **P** and Σ , e. g. *inueniam* (3, 4), *et cetera mittas* (7, 7), and *ergo* (7, 12) are all fairly plausible, while there is absolutely no method of determining whether *sit* and *sentiat*, which I have chosen in 7, 11, are superior to **P**'s *sis* and *sentias*.

P has justified its unique position by giving us these opportunities for emending the text. Standing apart as it does, its testimony will be of the greatest importance whenever the other manuscripts are at variance with one another, but this phase will be more conveniently discussed after the grouping of the other manuscripts has been definitely established. There remain two further peculiarities of **P**, the order of the letters and the omission of 13 and 14. My remarks on these will be reserved for Chapter IV, in which I shall take up the origin of this Correspondence and the theories of those who have held that the fourteen letters were not all written at the same time.

α versus β

All the manuscripts except **P** are derived from a common archetype, Σ . From Σ were made two apographs, α and β , now lost. The manuscripts descended from α are **BARSEWGQVCDZ**; those coming from β are **XFOLYUMT**. The manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries commonly show a certain degree of contamination between the two groups. Four other manuscripts, **HJKN**, show such an admixture of variants from each of the groups that discussion of them must be reserved until after the classification of the others is determined. I give first a list of the readings in which all the manuscripts of α are in contrast with all the manuscripts of β .

		<i>α</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ρ</i>
i	1, 6	hi (<i>vel</i> hii)	his	hii
ii	2, 8/9	dicereris censor (dicere recensor δ, dicere res censor B)	dicereris censor	dicereris censor
iii	9	et (<i>om.</i> CD)	etiam	etiam
iv	3, 4	prospera	prosperere	prosperere
v	5, 4	aliorum (aliorum ECD)	alios rursum	aliorum
vi	5	ratione	traditione	ratione
vii	7, 4	exigerem (exirem δ)	exhibes XF, ex- bis O, exhibes U, exhibis L, ex- hibuisti M, ex- buiisti T	exiui
viii	5	supra (exuperat Z)	et supera X, et super FL, et supra OU, et super te MT	et super
ix	7	eximias proferas (per- Z)	et ceteras	et cetera mittas
x	10	perfecto	lecto	perfecto
xi	10	uirtutis	uirtutis in te	uirtutis in te
xii	11	legitime	legi meae	legitime
xiii	8, 2	ignoremus	ignorem	ignorem
xiv	2	non	nostrum	non
xv	12	offendetur	offenditur (<i>et</i> Z, <i>sed corr.</i>)	offendetur
xvi	9, 2	Scio	Scito	Scio
xvii	6	quippe qui (= Z ²)	quippe ut his qui (his <i>om.</i> XF)	quippe de uobis qui
xviii	8	praerogabis (rogabis Z)	inrogabis	inrogauis
xix	10, 5	tua persona	tuam personam	tuam personam
xx	11, 2	mi	mihi XFOUT (-hi <i>exp.</i> F), michi M, mi <i>ex</i> ? L ²	mi
xxi	2	contristari	haut (aut UMT) contristari	contristari
xxii	16	uoluntas	uoluptas	<i>Non habet</i>
xxiii	18	et	et ut	et ut
xxiv	12, 3	ad id electus	dilectus	adōdilectus (?)
xxv	4	actum	aptum actum XFO, actum ULMT	actum
xxvi	6	non	non ergo	non ergo
xxvii	6	latere (lateri C)	laeter	laeter
xxviii	8	epistolarum	ex epistolarum	epistolarum

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		α		β	P
xxix	12, 11	mi		mihi XF0+U (= ZB), michi T, MINE 0, in LM	Non habet
xxx	13, 2	eo usquequaque		usquequaque	Deficit
xxxix	5	te teneo		retineo	
xxxii	8	et speciem		speciem	
xxxiii	14, 7	fore debebit		fore (F ex silen- tio)	
xxxiv	9	ostendendo		ostendo	
xxxv	9	rethoricis et		rethoricis	
xxxvi	13	flectuntur		flectantur	
xxxvii	15	perpetuumque		perpetuum	
		animal		animam	

The testimony of P is available for the first twenty-eight of these variants, with the exception of xxiii which is in a group of words omitted by P. We should find that P agrees quite consistently with α against β or with β against α only in good readings. If this proves to be so in almost every case, then we are justified in accepting P's evidence for those readings in which there is no paleographical or other criterion for determining which of the two variants is preferable.

In these variants P agrees with α twelve times (i, v, vi, x, xii, xiv, xv, xvi, xx, xxi, xxv, xxviii). No. v is an error of β , because *alios* cannot stand with the passive verb. Nos. i, xv, and xvi are other patent errors of β , nor can *legi meae* (xii) be correct, for I do not believe that Nero would have been represented as saying to Seneca: "I am surprised that one who has not been trained in your philosophy can express such sentiments." Rather the reference seems to be to the general view of the ignorance, not to mention improper training, of the early Christians, Apostles and disciples alike¹. Peter of Cluny's

¹ Acts IV 13: *Videntes autem Petri constantiam et Ioannis, comperto quod homines essent sine litteris et idiotae, admirabantur...*; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* V 4: *studiorum rudes, litterarum profanos, expertes artium*; Oct. VIII 4: *Qui de ultima faece collectis imperitioribus et mulieribus credulis sexus sui facilitate labentibus plebem profanae coniurationis instituunt...*; cf. also Origen, *Contra Celsum* I 27.

reference to this passage with the words *homini...indocto*¹ could be taken to support either of these readings. I assume that *legi meae* is an attempted correction of some scribal error, possibly *legime*. The variation between *mi* and *mihi* (xx, xxix) is mostly a matter of personal choice of the individual scribe, while the abbreviation 'm' stands for either form.

So far **P** has not failed to support the correct reading in each case, but it must be granted that the agreement of **P** with *a* may give the reading of Ω , without restoring the original reading of the text, whenever Ω itself was in error. This state of affairs is found three times here. In xiv *non* is an error for *nostrum* (cf. the discussion on p. 31). The original error may have been made in Ω and corrected in β , or it may have been made independently in **P** and *a*. No. xxi shows omission by both **P** and *a* of a necessary negative. This is almost certainly an error of Ω , corrected by β . I have accepted the *haut*, although it is not possible to know just what word has been lost².

No. xxv, I believe, is also an error which originated in Ω . The meaning of the words *actum esse* without some qualifying adverb is quite opposite to the sense of this passage. A reader or the scribe of β , who understood this, suggested that *actum* should be corrected to *aptum*. The correction was accepted by one group of β descendants³, while both the original reading and the correction appear in the other group. In Classical Latin *aptum esse* is a common phrase, combined with the dative or with *in* and the accusative. Other prepositions are less common, and I have found no other example of this use of *de*, even in Late Latin. The change from *aptum* to *actum* is easy paleographically; it is not, therefore, possible to reject β 's correction absolutely. I prefer, however, the emendation of

¹ Cf. p. 111.

² **Q** corrected by adding *non*.

³ The original reading of **L** has been tampered with, but I am certain that it was *aptum*, not *artum* as reported by Westerburg from the collation of Wachsmuth.

Haase, who added *optime* before *actum*. From this suggestion Westerborg adopted *optume* in his text; with this spelling the scribe would have had before him OPTVMEACTVMERIT, and the omission was due to the repetition of the letters TVME (or of CTVME if the P looked like a C, as it very commonly did in capital scripts).

xxviii. An *ex* before *epistolarum* has been faithfully copied by every descendant of β . Its absence from **P** and α shows that it was not in Ω . It is impossible in its present position and not necessary anywhere in the text. I may suggest two explanations of its presence. One is that it was meant to go with *prima facie*. It is true that *prima facie* here does not have its usual legal meaning, but I know no other example of *ex prima facie*, while the phrase without the preposition is exactly like a similar use of *prima fronte*, with the meaning of *initio* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VI 1, 1365, 38). The other suggestion is that β was thinking of *exemplarium* rather than *ex epistolarum*. Evidence of this may be seen in the form *exemplarum*, which stood in **F** according to Kraus.

Finally *ratione* (vi) is preferable to *traditione*, but *perlecto* (x) is to be chosen instead of *lecto* for no other reason than its appearance in both **P** and α .

In this same group of α versus β variants **P** agrees with β eleven times (ii, iii, iv, viii, xi, xiii, xviii, xix, xxiii, xxvi, xxvii). Are all these errors of α ? Certainly ii is, for *dicereris* seems to be an attempt at correction after loss of the preceding *hoc*. That the passive form is wrong is shown by *dicis* at the end of the sentence. *praerogabis* (xviii) is improbable, since available dictionaries cite no instance of the meaning "to grant" earlier than the twelfth century, while *inrogo* has the use of "to bestow" from the time of Quintilian¹. There are several instances of careless omission of one or two short words

¹ *Inst. Orat.* X 3, 26.

in α : *iam* (iii), *in te* (xi), *ut* (xxiii), *ergo* (xxvi). *prospera* (iv) is probably a case of grammatical assimilation, *ignoremus* (xiii) is an easy mistake¹. *tua persona* (xix) might be a correction (even unconscious) to a more regular Latin construction, and *latere* (xxvii) calls for no elaborate explanation. In viii the reading of β is uncertain, but it was probably *et super* as in **P**. There is some indication of a form *supera* for Σ , as in **X**. *exuperat* in **Z**, at first sight very attractive, is unlikely because of its appearance in **Z** alone. It may have arisen in part from a phonetic confusion of *x* and *ts*, or it may be a clever emendation.

In four instances **P**, α , and β present three separate readings. No. xxiv has already been discussed².

vii. The problem of *exirem*, *exigerem*, and *exhibes* (more than a dozen variants are recorded in the critical apparatus) is one of the most difficult textual problems in the Correspondence. To take the important groups separately, **P** has *exiui*, β shows several variants for which a probable reconstruction is *exibes* (for *exhibes*) as in **U**, and α has *exigerem*, with *exirem* in δ . Since the shorter *exirem* is much more likely on paleographical grounds to have come from EXIBES, we are forced to suppose that *exigerem* was a correction made in the margin of α , accepted by **Z** and **CD**, but not by δ . This leaves *exibes* for Σ and *exiui* for **P**. Since **P** has several other cases of *u* for *b*, we should probably restore *exhibes* to the original text. Even so we are left with a sentence whose meaning is very obscure.

ix. This third crux in the space of six lines easily wins for Ep. 7 the distinction of being the most difficult of all, as far as concerns the text. In this case the readings accepted by previous editors have all been quite impossible. The *cures*

¹ It is a mistake which might as easily have been made in the other direction independently by **P** and β ; in 1, 3 **P** has changed *-mus* to *-m*. Either *ignoremus* or *ignorem* gives a satisfactory reading and the latter is not to be excluded merely because of the proximity of *nostrum*.

² **P**. 40.

adopted by Haase is evidently a manuscript error for *cum res*, so that *earum* now has its proper feminine antecedent. The words *eximias proferas* in *a* fit extremely well with the general idea of this letter (and of 9 and 13) that Paul, since he has such worthy material, should take more care to express it in good Latin! The origin of *et ceteras* I cannot satisfactorily explain, although I note that the beginning and the ending (*et* and *ex-*; *-eras*) of the two phrases are nearly identical. *P*'s *et cetera mittas* must be some sort of emendation; far inferior to *a*, it is still not impossible. Its interpretation would be: "Take care—and leave all other matters aside—to, etc."

xvii. *P*'s *quippe de uobis qui* shows at least that some words were in the text between *quippe* and *qui*, from which we may restore *ut his* to *Σ*. The loss of these words in *a* would be a correction, as would also the dropping of *his* by *XF*. I propose the more simple correction of reading *is* for *his*, since addition or omission of *h* is a common phenomenon. This correction is not my own, but that of one of the later readers of *L*, who put it into the margin of that manuscript.

Unfortunately we do not have *P* as a witness for 13 and 14. There the choice between *a* and *β* variants must be made entirely on grounds of merit. Nos. xxxiii and xxxiv are certainly errors of *β*, while xxxvi is probably a correction by *β* of an unusual construction. One omission of *et* by *β* (xxxii) is probably accidental, but the other (xxxv) and the *-que* (xxxvii) are very uncertain, while the *eo* in *a* (xxx) is impossible.

xxxi. The variants are: *dixisse te teneo* δZ, *dixisse te retineo* CD, *dixisse retineo* YFO(U?), *te dixisse retineo* L² (only *-neo* remains from the original writing of *L*), *dixiss&ineo* M, *dixisset in eo* T. I explain *retineo* of CD as part of the *β* contamination common to them and restore *dixisse te teneo* to *a*. *β* seems to have had *dixisse retineo*. The meaning of *a* is: "Do not fear, Paul, that, as I remember hearing you say frequently, people who pay too much attention to their words

spoil their meaning". The same sense can be had from the words of β only if *te* is supplied as the subject of *dixisse*, which is very difficult. The normal interpretation of β is: "Do not fear that, as I remember I have often said, people who pay too much attention to their words spoil their meaning." At first sight it may appear very specious that Seneca should be represented as trying to deny something which he has preached before. Actually, though, the genuine works of Seneca do contain precepts contrary to those in the letters to Paul. Ep. 13 is dedicated entirely to the topic of improvement in Paul's writing, to make his language compatible with his ideas. This doctrine is flagrantly opposed to that of Ep. 115 of Seneca to Lucilius (especially sections 1 and 2). There Seneca strongly advises Lucilius *not* to think of words and composition, but to consider what, rather than how, he writes, and above all to distrust the insincerity of polished and trimmed sentences. If the person who forged this Correspondence with Paul was a student in a school of rhetoric, as I shall suggest elsewhere, this genuine letter of Seneca may well have been part of his "assigned reading". Thus *retineo* is preferable to *te teneo* for the interpretation of the passage. The change may be due to a simple confusion of R and T, since these letters are often taken for each other in majuscule scripts.

xxxvii. The last difficulty in this list is *animal* versus *animam*. I do not know how to choose between them, except that *animal* is preferable as the *lectio difficilior*¹. The gender of *properantem* need not cause any difficulty, since it agrees with *hominem*.

In thirty-seven readings all the manuscripts of α have shown themselves at variance with all the manuscripts of β . This is more than enough to establish the existence of two copies of Σ .

¹ Cf. the use of *animale* in I Cor. 15, 44.

We must now dispose of the remaining cases, in which a few of the α manuscripts have β readings, or a few of the β manuscripts have α readings.

xxxviii 1, 2 heri de te α ; heri β (heri de te F, teste Kr., an recte incertum)

Kraus seems to have attributed a few readings to F instead of to J, due to confusion between his two symbols, Arg. 1 and Arg. 2. His report here, therefore, may be questioned. Because P, although very corrupt itself at this point, does not show *de te* and because another phrase with *de* later in the sentence makes these words very awkward, I have omitted them.

xxxix 1, 14 quibus $\delta\beta$; quibus his VCDZU; quēhis P

I have discussed this on p. 36.

xi 2, 9 et α ; etiam β (praeter F?) P

Cf. the remarks on xxxviii. For this word all previous editors have written *et iam*, which is without manuscript authority.

xli 3, 9 praeterii α ; praeteriri XFO, praeteriit U, praeteri L, preteriit MT; praeteriui P

L's error does not definitely point to *praeteriri* or *praeterii* or *praeteriit* in its exemplar, since it may be due to haplography of final *ri* or a single writing of the double *i* or loss of final *t*. P's reading may be a spelling variant for *praeterii*, or it may show the error of *u* for *r*. I think it best to choose on grounds of interpretation alone in this case, for the reason that either of the variants may have come from the other. I have taken *praeteriri*, because the infinitive is much more natural than a finite verb in an appositional clause¹. We may suppose that Σ had *praeterii* with the missing *r* added above the line, thus giving rise to different readings in the two copies.

xlili 4, 2 tuam δZP ; tui βCD

¹ The substantive clause in 7,11 has an infinitive, but that in 1,8 has a finite verb.

I shall show later that **CD** are full of β contaminations. We may, therefore, assume that *tuam* was the α reading. Since it is also in **P**, it would naturally appear to have been in Ω , too, were it not for another instance of *tui praesentiam* in 1, 7, where all the manuscripts agree. It is barely possible, but most unlikely, that β changed this second occurrence to make it agree with the first; it is far more probable that *tui*, coming this time after *praesentiam*, was unconsciously assimilated to it by **P** and α independently. Cf. the same *praesentia mei* in *Philip.* 2; 12, but note that it is almost immediately followed by *absentia mea*. I think, therefore, that *tui* is probably the original reading.

xliii 6, 2 quae α **XF**; quibus vel quae **O**, quibusque **UL**; quibus **MTP**

For another case of *quae* assimilated to *quibus* by a neighboring *his*, cf. 1, 14. Here the variants are easily explained, if we assume that the erroneous *quibus* had already appeared in Ω . In Σ the correction was made above the line or in the margin, a correction which was accepted by α . The doublets were preserved in β , and later in ζ , so that the correction was again accepted by **XF**, but not by **MT**, while the evidence of the doublets appears in **O**, **U**, and **L**, though in different forms.

xliv 6, 7/8 si sapientiam α ; si patientiam **XFULP** et **W**, sapientiam (si om.) **OMT**

The only form which can stand here is *si patientiam*. It appears that in Σ this became corrupted to *sapientiam*, which was corrected above the line or in the margin. As in xlii, the doublets were copied by β and by ζ and appear in their descendants now in the one form, now in the other. A different method was followed by α , who accepted only *si* from the correction in Σ ¹.

xlv 6, 9 sunt α **P** et **F** teste *Kr.*; sint **XOUL**, om. **MT**

¹ Cf. a remarkably similar corruption in Suetonius, *De Gramm. et Rhet.* 11,3, where *sit patientiam* has been corrupted to *sapientiam*, if the emendation of Baehrens is accepted. See the note on the passage in the edition of R. P. Robinson (Paris, 1925) 20.

The indicative with *si modo* is more common than the subjunctive. The confused testimony of β manuscripts makes the agreement between α and **P** the more forceful as an argument for *sunt*.

xlvi 8, 3 permittit α **P**, permittes **W** β

This is another instance of the frequent contamination in **W** (cf. xlv). The error has been discussed on p. 37.

xlvii 8, 5 perferri α (proferre **C**); perferre β et **EWGQ**; ferre **P**

The witness of **P** is sufficient to show that α is in error, but there is little to influence a decision between *ferre* of **P** and *perferre* of Σ , except a similar simplification of *perlecto* in 7, 10.

xlvi 10, 2/3 subsecundo α **P**; tibi subsecundo β et **Q**

This is one of several instances of contamination in **Q**. Since *tibi* is not in **P** or α it may be considered superfluous.

xlvi 11, 14 iam α **P** (tam in iam corr. **Z**); tam β (tamen **MT**)

Tam for *iam* is an easy error; it may well have been made independently in β and **Z**, so that it does not affect our classification¹.

l 11, 16 quisquis α **FP**; quisque β (*praeter* **F**)

Cf. the discussion of xxxviii.

li 12, 10 Quam α ; Nam β **P** et **Q**

Nam is required. Its appearance in **Q** may be due either to contamination or to intelligent correction.

Agreement of **Z** with β

In addition to these fifty-one readings in which all or nearly all of the descendants of α disagree with all or nearly all of the descendants of β there are thirty-one more readings in which **Z** agrees with β against the other α manuscripts. The

¹ Cf. however the discussion of **Z** just below.

position of **Z** as a descendant of α is made secure by the readings which we have just studied, in which **Z** agrees with the other α manuscripts both in errors and in correct readings. These new cases, therefore, must be studied in order to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the departure of **Z** from the α tradition. I give a list in three columns as before with the readings of: 1) δ and **VCD** (i. e. α minus **Z**), 2) **Z** β , and 3) **P**. The reconstruction of the reading of α from the manuscripts in the first column is made uncertain at times by the fact that, in the group **VCD**, **V** is a small fragment (1, 1—3, 2) and **CD** are contaminated (sometimes together, sometimes separately) by readings from the β family. I indicate below all places where **VCD** depart individually from the α tradition.

		δ VCD	Z β	P
lii	1, 2	Lucullo (lucilio D)	Lucillo	lucio
liii	5	loco	loci	loco
liv	6	nostri	nostra	nostri
lv	10	mortalem (= M)	moralem (= EWG)	moralem
lvi	13	rerum est	est rerum	rerum <i>om.</i> ¹
lvii	13	clarent (pollens D)	callens (= C)	clarente
lviii	15	Vale <i>om.</i> (= UM)	Vale <i>post</i> cupio <i>habent</i>	Vale <i>om.</i>
lix	2, 1	SALVTEM <i>add.</i> (= O)	SALVTEM <i>non</i> <i>habent</i> (= WDG)	<i>Non habet</i>
lx	5	ergo (enim D)	enim ergo	ergo
lxi	8	enim (= MT) <i>Deficit V</i>	enim hoc (= V)	enim hoc
lxii	3, 4	fors	sors (= GQ) (fros X)	fors
lxiii	7	ei hanc edere (ei hanc <i>om.</i> D)	edere ei eam	edere ei eam
lxiv	7	tecum	prius tecum	tecum prius (= L)
lxv	7	conferrem	conferam	conferrem
lxvi	5, 3	remotum	remoratum	remotum
lxvii	4	conuersus sis	conuerteris (= D)	conuerteris

¹ This has already been explained (p. 27) as an omission of a complete line (*rerum tantaque*) by **P** in copying from his exemplar. Since *est* was not omitted by **P**, this is to be taken as support of **Z** β .

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		δ VCD	$Z\beta$	P
lxviii	6, 3/4	designat	designat aliquid	designat aliquid
lxix	7	capiant	captant	captant
lxx	7, 5	sublimior (= Z^2)	sublimiores	sublimiorum et
lxxi	8, 6	enim ille (= UMT)	ille enim	enim ille
lxxii	7	eum scire	scire eum (= D)	scire eum
lxxiii	10, 3	sectae meae et incongruentem δ , sectae meae incongruentemque CD	et sectae meae incongruentem (= Q)	sectae meae et incongruentem
lxxiv	7	rubore (rubore aporia C)	aporia	aporia
lxxv	11, 4	supplicia sumuntur	supplicium sumatur	supplicium sumatur
lxxvi	7	quo	quod	quoquo
lxxvii	16	fieri solent	fieri solet	quod fieri solet
lxxviii	18/19	datum est (= U) (dabitur CD)	donatum est	datum est
lxxix	21	ualere te	te ualere (= C) (te om. XMT)	uale
lxxx	12, 7	alter (= Z, manu correctrice)	alteri	alter
lxxxi	10	te ciuem esse (te esse ciuem C)	ciuem esse te (= W) (te esse ciuem O)	te ciuem esse
lxxxii	13, 5	uereare	uerere (= Q)	Deficit

In eleven readings **P** agrees with $Z\beta$ (lv, lvi, lix, lxi, lxiii, lxvii, lxviii, lxix, lxxii, lxxiv, lxxv). We may continue to assume that the agreement of **P** with β (in this case with $Z\beta$) gives the better tradition, since we have already established the merit of **P** and because in no place does its agreement with α or with β force us to adopt readings clearly unsuited to the context. Among these eleven readings are represented errors on the part of δ VCD in omission (lxi, lxviii) and change of word-order (lvi, lxiii, lxxii). In lxxiv a gloss has been accepted in place of the original word. *conuersus sis* (lxvii) is a deliberate change of the tense of the verb in order to remove the unusual present tense. lviii represents an error on the part of Σ , corrected in δ VCD and independently in **O**. In the other instances no decision can be made on the basis of intrinsic merit. The reading of $PZ\beta$ is, therefore, to be chosen.

We must next consider the seven readings in which **P** does not support either **Zβ** or **δVCD**.

lii. *Lucillo* is the form which was in **Σ**. Manuscripts **Z** and **O** regularly show this form even in the parts which contain the genuine letters of Seneca. *Lucullo* seems to be an attempt to change *Lucillo* to a good Latin name.

lxiv. The easiest explanation of these variants is to assume that *prius* was omitted in **Ω**, but added in the margin or above the line. **P** restored it before *tecum* and **Σ** placed it after. The agreement between **P** and **L** is probably accidental. The omission of *prius* in **δCD** may be attributed to the fact that it appeared redundant, having already occurred once in the same sentence.

lxx. If we accept Westerborg's emendation, *sublimi ore*, the *sublimiores* of **β** (**Σ**?) is an exceptionally easy mistake (due to the *s* of *satis* and to *scriptura continua*). Another suggestion will also explain **P**'s error, namely that **Ω** had an abbreviation such as SVBLIMIOR with a suprascript stroke. This abbreviation would then have been interpreted by **P** as RVM and by **Σ** as RES. The *et* of **P** and the reading of **δCD** have come either from cumulative error or from attempted correction.

lxxvi. At first glance **P** seems to support the reading of **δCD**, but the errors listed on p. 32 show two other cases in which *quod* had been misinterpreted by **P**. Furthermore, *quod* is intrinsically preferable here.

lxxvii. This has already been discussed on p. 39.

lxxix. lxxxii. In these two cases it is impossible to determine whether the reading of **Zβ** is to be preferred to that of **δCD**. These two passages may accordingly be eliminated from consideration.

We have, therefore, eleven readings in which **PZβ** are correct, and five in which **Zβ** are correct without support from **P** to either side. To state the facts in another way, we have sixteen cases in which **Z**, a descendant of **α**, agrees with **β** in

good readings against all the other descendants of α . This state of affairs is most satisfactorily explained by supposing that Z is one copy of α , while another lost copy, which we may call γ , served as an intermediate between α and δVCD , although further evidence which I shall introduce does not actually allow us to adopt this scheme. According to this hypothesis, γ made all the errors in these sixteen instances. The arrangement required by this explanation is represented in the accompanying Fig. 1.

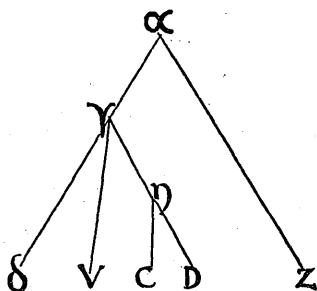


Fig. 1.

There are left thirteen readings in which Z agrees with β against the other descendants of α (liii, liv, lvii, lviii, lx, lxii, lxv, lxvi, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxviii, lxxx, lxxxi). In all of these P gives its support to δVCD .

liii. liv. We may suppose that Σ accidentally wrote *nostra* because of the preceding *occasione*. An *i* added as a correction was wrongly applied to *loco* instead of to *nostra*.

lvii. The finite verb seems to be required.

lxv. If *conferrem* is original, then *conferam* may be a graphic error. If *conferam* is original, the other form probably shows an attempt to correct the sequence of tenses, in spite of the fact that *conferam* may just as well be future and that, if it is considered subjunctive, the author of this Correspondence

does not always observe the sequence of tenses (cf. *velles* 8, 7 and *sit* 11, 13).

lxvi. *remotum* seems a more probable error. It is to be preferred to *remoratum* only if **P**'s *quo* at the beginning of the sentence is correct rather than the *quae* of all the other manuscripts.

lxxxi. *te civem esse* is favored because *esse Romanum* gives a better clausula¹.

In the other readings one cannot tell which is more likely to have been the original, but the merit of **P** justifies our choosing as correct all of these cases in which it agrees with **δVCD**. If the arrangement of manuscripts in Fig. 1 were valid, it is obvious that **Z** should not go contrary to **P**_γ, and we are forced to assume that in these thirteen readings **Z** has borrowed from **β**. The immediate objection to this assumption is that **Z** has borrowed only bad readings.

If it were not for the definite proof already given of the existence of **α**, we might here be led to conjecture that **γ**, **Z**, and **β** are separate copies of **Σ**, so that agreement of any one of these three with **P** should give the reading of **Ω**. Under this supposition **P** still retains its importance when agreeing with **γ** or with **β**, but should also be expected to show some agreement with **Z**. I can find, however, only one **ZP** versus **ω** reading (7, 12 *ergo* for *ego*). This is probably due to independent error.

I have adopted an entirely different arrangement for my stemma. Abolishing the hypothetical **γ** of Fig. 1, I have assumed that **δ**, **V**, the ancestor of **CD**, and **Z** represent four copies of **α**. This requires first of all the assumption that **α** made all the errors in which **Zβ** have good readings; it requires in the second place the assumption that **Z** borrowed all of these good readings from **β**. Since the only other scheme which can be considered

¹ P. 79.

requires the assumption of borrowing from β on the part of **Z**, and since this borrowing consisted only of bad readings, surely it is preferable to adopt this arrangement, whereby **Z** is considered to have borrowed from β all the readings in lii-lxxxii. Thirteen of these are bad, sixteen are good, and two are uncertain. The good readings and the bad readings were thus taken in almost equal proportion. There is more probability in this contamination of **Z** from β in that two of β 's descendants, **F** and **O**, were, like **Z**, manuscripts of the genuine Correspondence of Seneca and Lucilius. Some ancient reader may have compared two such manuscripts and jotted down occasional notes where they differed, so that **Z**'s exemplar thus acquired a number of readings foreign to the α tradition. It is possible that the exact source of this contamination may have been β itself, because when we look for instances in which **Z** agrees with the individual readings of some descendant of β , we find nothing more significant than *domini* for *dominae* in **ZOMT** (5, 3), *arsere* omitted by **ZXFO** (11, 21), and the addition of **ITEM** to the title of 12 in **ZLT** and to 13 in **ZUL**. Finally when we search **Z** itself for any graphical indications of the nature of its ancestors, there is nothing of merit except the *alteri* (lxxx), a β reading, which has been corrected by erasure to the *alter* of other α manuscripts, and the *offenditur* of β (xv) corrected by the first hand to *offendetur*; also two corrections by a second hand, *exigerem* to *exirem* (7, 4) and *sublimiores* to *sublimior* (lxx)¹.

V and CD

The exact position of **V** is quite uncertain because of its brevity. Of the sixteen α readings in the first two Epp. (i-iii, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, lii-lxi) it has all but the last (*hoc* not

¹ I shall suggest in the Appendix the light that may be thrown on the position of **Z** by a study of its text of the letters of Seneca to Lucilius.

omitted). This makes it a descendant of α , but it is not possible to determine its relation to **CD** or to δ . **V** has no errors in common with **CD** alone, whereas in the part where the text of **V** is extant **CD** share five errors and δ has eleven errors.

The common errors of **CD** in the rest of the letters are numerous and need not be listed in full (*ut non dicam perfici* 1, 15; *permotum* 7, 9; *notissimum iam* 9, 6 etc.). There is plentiful evidence in both **C** and **D** of contamination from a β source. In the following α readings **C** shows contamination: xlviii, lvii, lxxiv, lxxix; **D** shows contamination in: lvii, lix, lx, lxxvii, lxxii. There are few clear instances of **C** and **D** being contaminated together. A possible one is xlv; more certain is lxxviii, in which the *dabitur* comes directly from the passage in Vergil's *Aeneid* V 815. It is best to assume that **C** and **D** are copies of a single manuscript, in which were inserted numerous variant readings, and that the two scribes each exercised his own choice in accepting an occasional one of these variants, so that the actual agreement between **C** and **D** is not exceptionally close.

δ versus **VCDZ** β

The last copy of α was δ . In Chapter V I have discussed the evidence which shows that δ was the manuscript used by Alcuin in making his edition. The variant readings which are peculiar to it include not only the errors and corrections made by its copyist, but also the emendations of Alcuin himself. The eight descendants of δ constitute nearly one-third of all the manuscripts which I have collated for this edition. In the following list of δ readings an asterisk indicates the seven places where **P** agrees with δ .

i	1, 1	SENeca PAVLO SALV- TEM <i>om.</i> (in WGQ sa- lutatio restituta est)	VCDZβ <i>Habent salutationem</i>
ii	3	apogryphis BR , apogriphis S, apocryphis E	apocrifis (= WGQ)
iii	6	hi enim	hi VCDZ (= EWGQ), his β
iv	8	ad quosdam	alias (= W)
v	10	*usquequaque	usque
vi	15	*cupio	frater cupio (cupio frater CD)
vii	2, 2	*heri (heri hilaris W)	hilaris heri
viii	3	potui	statim potui (= W)
ix	5	cui et quid dari	cui quid dari committique
x	7	bene uos	uos bene
xi	10	*te (= MT)	te diu
xii	3, 8	potuisset	fieri potuisset (= W)
xiii	9	carissime amice	carissime
xiv	4, 5	cupio	opto (= G)
xv	5, 5	facta	factum (= G)
xvi	6	Bene ualeas <i>add.</i>	Vale <i>add.</i> CMT , <i>om.</i> ω
xvii	6, 1	LVCILLO	LVCILLO β , LVCILIO ω (= G)
xviii	3	loqui	eloqui
xix	5	*esse inter uos	inter uos esse
xx	8	quaue	quaqua (= WGQ)
xxi	9	ualeatis (VI W)	ualete (uale OL , ul M)
xxii	7, 3	Achaicis (= UT)	Achaeis
xxiii	4	exirem	exigerem CDZ , exhibes β (= W)
xxiv	7	tum	ut
xxv	10	Cum (Tum EWQ)	Cui
xxvi	12	haut BGQ , haud ARSE	aut
xxvii	14	Vatini	Vatieni
xxviii	14	*rustici	rusticuli
xxix	8, 6	contrarium sit	sit contrarium
xxx	7	uellis BR , uelis R²ASEW	uelles (= GQ)
xxxi	8	*hoc facere te	facere te hoc
xxxii	10, 8/9	Vale-consulibus <i>om.</i>	Vale-consulibus <i>habent</i> CZXLT et Q
xxxiii	11, 4	dure	duros (= W)
xxxiv	4	tamquam (= X)	tamque (= W)
xxxv	9	Darium et Dionysium	Darium Dionysium
xxxvi	22	FRVGI	FRIGI
xxxvii	12, 7	Haud	Haut (= WQ), aut β
xxxviii	9	me temptare	temptare me
xxxix	11	qui uelim	qui tuus uelim (= Q)
xl	13, 10	ualeas	uale
xli	14, 5	uideatur	uidetur
xl ii	8	nouumque	nouum
xl iii	10	adeptus es	adeptus

There are six cases of omissions of single words (vi, vii, viii, xi, xii, xxxix), five of inverted word-order (x, xix, xxix, xxxi, xxxviii), five of additions of single words (iii, xiii, xxxv, xlii, xliii), thirteen which may be considered other scribal errors or spelling variants (i, xv, xviii, xx, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxviii, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxvii). Of the remainder, four concern proper names (xvii, xxii, xxvii, xxxvi), four occur in the formula of farewell (xiv, xvi, xxi, xl), six are variations of single words or simple phrases (ii, iv, v, ix, xxiv, xli). These variations I have discussed in Chapter V, along with the external evidence that these manuscripts form a unit and are all descended from a copy of the edition made by Alcuin.

At first sight the agreements of **P** with a descendant of Σ in the second generation are astonishing, but if we examine them closely we find that they are not of great significance. They include two instances of inverted word-order (xix, xxxi), both in infinitive phrases, and three omissions of single words (vi, vii, xi), two of which occur in the formula of farewell. These five cases of identical readings in **P** and δ may be accidental. Thus we have left only *usquequaque* (v) and *rustici* (xxviii). *usque* seems to have caused difficulty to many readers, although its use here is classical. It often appears in glossaries with such definitions as *ex toto* or *omni modo*. The present case may be compared with Terence *Ad. II 2, 5 usque defessi sumus*. The use of *rustici* as I have already suggested¹ may have been influenced by its appearance in Cicero, where the story of Vatienus is told. Actually, then, no particular significance can be attached to these few cases of chance agreement between **P** and δ ².

¹ P. 37.

² To these agreements just mentioned should be added *sectae meae* et (10,3) and *datum est* (11,18/19) and the wording of the general title EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD PAVLVM ET PAVLI AD EVNDEM, where *eundem* is not properly used.

All eight descendants of δ are unusually accurate copies of their originals. There is, therefore, in such a short text all too little evidence for establishing their interrelation. We must first show the existence of a certain amount of contamination in **WGO**. In the list of δ variants I have indicated eleven cases for the introduction of a β reading into the text of **W** (i, ii, iii, iv, vii, viii, xii, xx, xxiii, xxxiii, xxxiv), seven for **G** (i, ii, iii, xiv, xv, xx, xxx), and seven for **Q** (i, ii, iii, xx, xxx, xxxii, xxxix). **WQ** also borrowed Jerome's notice from another manuscript source, while among other material foreign to δ are the date of **10**, which is found in **WQ**, and the date of **12** in **Q**. The contamination in all three manuscripts came from the β group. In the case of **W** its source may with all probability be assigned to ζ , because of a few agreements with the individual errors of **U** and because of several readings which it has in common with **MT**:

i		<i>Tituli epistolarum in WMT simillimi sunt.</i>
ii	1, 2	quid WUMT
iii	3, 9	preterit W , praeterit U , preteriit MT
iv	6, 8	ex WU ¹ (= F), et ω (= U)
v	7, 5	texcelsos W , te excelsos MT
vi	12	affari WU
vii	14	cui cum WU (= E)
viii	13, 7	mihi uelim concedas WU (= F ?)
ix	10	Bene uale <i>om.</i> WYUMT (<i>post</i> consulibus <i>suppl.</i> T) (uale <i>suppl.</i> M)
x	14, 7	hisrahelitarumque WMT

I now give a list of all points which bear on the interrelation of the δ manuscripts, omitting mere spelling variants:

i	1, 6	hi enim BARS , hi EWGQ
ii	2, 8/9	dicere res censor B , dicere recensor (e <i>ante</i> -or <i>exp.</i>) A , dicere recensor RSEW (diceret R ²), diceretis censor Q , dicereretis censor G
iii	4, 5	ualere te BA , ualere <i>ante</i> te <i>suppl.</i> R , te ualere SEWQ , <i>om.</i> G
iv	5, 2	nimum SEW , nimio BARGQ
v	6, 8	et BRSGQ , ex AW , et ex E
vi	7, 1	ANNEO SENEĆ BAR (Seneca R ²), Annaeus Seneca SEWQ
vii	10	Cum BARSG , Tum EWQ
viii	13	preuaricare BASGQ , preuaricari REW

ix	7, 14	Vatini ASEWGQ , uatim B , uatum R
x	14	cui BARSGQ , cui cum EW
xi	14	uiri duo BARWGQ , duo uiri SE
xii	8, 5	in notitiam BARSEW , innocentiam GQ
xiii	5	perferri BARS , perferre EWGQ
xiv	7	uellis BR , uelis AR²SEW , uelles GQ
xv	11, 4	sūmuntur BARQ , sumantur SEW
xvi	5	uos BAR²SW , om. RE , nos Q
xvii	16	cuius RSE²W , cui BAEQ
xviii	19	igne RSEW , igni BAQ
xix	13, 4	ornamenta BQ , ornamento ARSEW
xx	14, 9	Iesu Christi SEW , Christi Iesu BARS¹Q

The little evidence which we have is confusing, and for any definite proof of parentage we need more cases than these to establish groups with certainty. In the first place, **B** is the most accurate, the oldest, and the only complete copy of Alcuin's manuscript. It is the only one in which both the dedicatory poem of Alcuin to Charlemagne and the Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus accompany the letters of Seneca and Paul. There is no serious objection to making **A** a copy of **B**, except that **A** omits all the dates but the last. We can remove this objection by supposing an intermediate copy in which space was left for the dates to be filled in by a rubricator. For some reason they never were filled in, and **A** has not even left room for them.

R is the second oldest copy of Alcuin's manuscript. It cannot be a copy of **B**, because then there would be no reason for the unusual position of 3—6 in **R** and because the rest of the evidence shows **R** going sometimes with **B** and sometimes with **S**.

SEW have these common errors: iv, xi (contamination in **W**), xv, xix. The bond between **E** and **W** is further strengthened by an external bit of evidence, the anonymous letter¹ which follows this Correspondence in each of them. The group **SEW** also has geographical ties, for **S** is now in St. Gall, **E** is in Einsiedeln, and **W** derived readings from **U**, which was formerly in St. Gall.

¹ Cf. p. 23.

GQ clearly belong together, but they are not descended from any of the other manuscripts of the δ group.

I have, therefore, decided that we now possess representatives of four separate copies of the manuscript which Alcuin sent to Charlemagne, or possibly of a manuscript identical with the royal gift. These copies were: **B**, from which comes **A**; **R**; **S**, from which probably come **EW**; π , the common ancestor of **GQ**.

XF and **O** versus ω

It must be remembered in dealing with **XF** that **X** is an incomplete manuscript, lacking **13** and **14**, and that we know **F**'s readings only from the collation of Kraus. Except where Kraus expressly mentions **F** in his apparatus criticus it is often not safe to assume that he used its readings in his text, although he apparently has done so more than once.

Turning to the readings of **XFO**, one finds only these slight indications that they form a group apart from all the other manuscripts:

		XFO	ω
i	3, 9	praeteriri	praeteriit ξ , praeterii α
ii	7, 4	esse XF , ex se O	eas
iii	8, 6	enim ille (= ZL)	ille enim
iv	11, 21	diebus (= Z)	diebus arsere
v	12, 4	aptum actum	actum α P, aptum ξ

It is no easier to find common errors for **XF**:

		XF	ω
i	1, 10	mirae exhortationis	mira exhortatione (miram exhortationem P)
ii	5, 5	existimetur	existimet
iii	7, 2	lectionem (= P)	lectione
iv	4	esse	eas
v	9, 6	ut	ut his OLUMT , de uobis P , om. α

These are probably sufficient to show that **XF** form a group separate from the other manuscripts and are descended

from a single copy of β , particularly since we do not have a complete collation of F. It cannot, however, be demonstrated from the above evidence that O has enough errors in common with XF to require positing the descent of XFO from an intermediate copy of β . It is best to represent ϵ , the ancestor of XF, and O as two separate copies of β .

ζ versus ω

A third copy of β was the manuscript ζ , now lost, from which are derived **LYUMT**. The readings of these five manuscripts comprise not only careless errors, but also the wording of titles and some doublets arising from glosses in ζ . It is to be noted that the witness of all five manuscripts is complete only for the last two Epistles: for 1—12 Y is lacking, and for the first letter L also is missing.

		ζ	ω
i		<i>Tituli in LM simillimi sunt.</i>	
ii	1, 2	quid	quod
iii	8	pluribus	plurimis (= U ¹)
iv	3, 7	tecum prius L (= P), prius eam (tecum <i>add.</i> <i>m</i> ²) U, prius eam tecum MT	prius tecum
v	9	praeteri L, praeterit U, preteriit MT	praeteriri XFO, praeterii α
vi	7, 8	desint	desit (= L)
vii	13	preuaricare ordinare LU, preuaricare uel ordinare MT	preuaricare
viii	9, 6	tam	iam (= L)
ix	10, 8	deuote	deuotissime
x	9	consule (<i>om.</i> UM)	consulibus
xi	11, 2	aut UMT, haud L	haut XFO, <i>om.</i> α
xii	12, 1	ITEM SENECA LT	SENECA
xiii	4	aptum	aptum actum XFO, actum α P
xiv	13, 1	ITEM SENECA LU	SENECA
xv	4	ornamenta	ornamento (= L)
xvi	9	concesso (= O)	concessio (= Y)
xvii	14, 2	Perpendentibus	Perpendenti (= Y)

From these readings we can deduce several facts about ζ : *preuaricare* was glossed by *ordinare* (vii); *consulibus* was abbreviated capriciously (x) so that it could not be distinguished from the singular form; the gloss *aptum* (xiii) was copied from β in place of the *actum* in the other manuscripts.

It will be noted, however, that of the three ζ errors (xv—xvii) which fall within its brief text, **Y** has only the first. This is probably to be attributed to the fact that **Y** has been corrected from its exemplar. The correction of one of these two errors in **U** makes it possible that such correction may have been indicated in the common ancestor of **YU**. The existence of this ancestor, which I call φ , is quite certain. **YU** have the following omissions in common: the farewell salutation of 12, the date of 12, the farewell of 13, the names of the consuls in the date of 13, *certus igitur* (14, 3), *dei* (14, 14). The other common errors of **YU** are *allegoricae et enigmatica* (13, 2), *meae rem* (13, 8), *possit* (14, 5), *incaptabilis* (14, 12), *infectantur* (14, 13). Finally the text of each is followed by the same brief selection¹. Individual errors of **Y** (*ante* and *possis* 13, 9; *in* 14, 3) show that **U** is not a copy of **Y**, and **Y** is probably older than **U**. A common ancestor is, therefore, the only hypothesis which will explain the common errors listed above.

That **MT** are copies of a single manuscript at one remove from ζ is shown clearly by a number of common errors, which I do not need to list in full (*quid* for *-que* 2, 5; *his* 6, 9; *eas* after *etiam* 7, 4 etc.), and by the fact that each ends abruptly with the words *animam parit* 14, 15.

No close relation seems to exist between **L** and φ or between **L** and ξ , the ancestor of **MT**. We must consequently suppose that **L**, φ , and ξ are three separate copies of ζ .

¹ Cf. pp. 21 and 24. In view of the close relation of **YU** to **M** it seems to me very probable that this little selection arose as a sort of gloss on the quotation from Papias in the margin of **M** (cf. p. 16, n. 1).

Contaminated Manuscripts

In addition to **P** and the twenty manuscripts descended directly from Σ , I have given the readings of four others, **HJKN**, which show varying amounts of confusion in adopting readings from each line of the α and β tradition. There must have been a number of manuscripts in each family in which variants from the opposite group had been inserted in the text, between the lines, and in the margins. The only present witness to this state of affairs is **L**, an uncontaminated manuscript, in which a hand approximately 150 years later than that of the original scribe precisely fulfilled these conditions, adding variants between the lines and in the margins, and very frequently rewriting the actual text and thus destroying the evidence as to what the first hand wrote. In the latter case the interpolator has apparently, in a few instances, preserved the reading of the first scribe as an interlinear variant (cf. 7, 4 *horrore* **L**, *honore* in the text and *at horrore* above **L**²). Assuming that a copy was made from **L** after the additions of **L**² were inserted, the copyist would have been much puzzled over his choice of readings in many places. He could copy the original text without the glosses, or the original text with the glosses as in the manuscript, or he could insert some or all of the glosses into his own text, according to his fancy. The latter process gives a result similar to that in the four manuscripts which I am about to describe.

J and H

I believe that these two manuscripts were each copied from a single codex which contained a large number of glosses. There is some variation in the exact degree of contamination in each, which could be explained by assuming that the scribes did not choose all of the variants before them, but we must always allow for the fact that the reports of Kraus are not sufficiently detailed

to give us all the variants of **J**. α variants¹ in **JH**: i, vi, ix, x, xii, xv, xvi, xx, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxviii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xliii, xlv, xlix, l, liii, liv, lviii, lxvii, lxxv, lxxvii, lxxx, lxxxii. α variants in **H**, but not known to be in **J**: ii, xiv, xxii, lvii, lx. α variants reported for **J**, but not in **H**: v, vii?, xxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, lxv?, lxxi?. δ errors² in **H**: v; in **J**: none. Thus an α manuscript without the **Z** contamination is shown to have been the source of these readings in **JH**.

It is not possible to be so precise about the source of the β readings. 7, 14 *uatis enim* and 11, 10 *quoque nostra* point to agreement with **O**. 1, 14 *institui ut* and 5, 5 *existimetur* show a relation to **X**. There is no similar relation to ζ .

K

Codex **K** has the following α variants: i, ix, x, xii, xv, xvi, xix, xx, xxix, xxxiii, xxxiv, xlv, xlix, l, liii, liv, lvii, lviii, lix?, lx, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxix, lxxx. The δ errors (xxxiii, xxxv) are insignificant. Turning to the β tradition, we can instantly pin **K** down to a very close relationship with **O**. Nearly every page of the apparatus criticus will show one or more cases in which **K** has a reading which is otherwise in **O** alone: 3, 4 *et si*; 6, 2 *quibus uel quae*, etc. We may easily decide that **K**'s parent was a gemellus of **O** with numerous variants added from an α manuscript, or even that **K** was copied from **O**'s parent, in which case the variants were either entirely neglected by **O** or added after **O** was copied. It is unlikely that **K** was in origin an α manuscript with very numerous contaminations from **O**.

N

The last of the contaminated manuscripts is this fragmentary copy. We can see quickly that in one branch it is related

¹ Pp. 42—43.

² P. 59.

to **CD**: 2, 3/4 *missurus eram*; 2, 10 *bene* omitted, etc. All its α readings are represented in **CD**. Its δ variants are only vi, xiv, xxiii. On the other hand the following readings come from a β source: ii, iii, xliii, xlv, xlv. Finally in these cases **N** agrees with **Z β** against α : liv, lv, lviii, lx, lxi, lxv, lxvii, lxviii, lxix. These may all be derived from some β source, but it is not possible to be more precise about the exact provenience of the contamination. In view of the generally good character of the readings borrowed from β , we are justified in positing for **N** a manuscript related to **CD**, the text of which has been intelligently corrected from a β manuscript.

Other Manuscripts

I have collated three other XII cent. manuscripts of this Correspondence. (1) *Berne* 225, ff. 15—16 (in the same manuscript with **C**) is related to **CD**, but more closely to **D** than to **C**; (2) *Munich Lat.* 2560, ff. 120^v—123 has a text similar to **N**, but is complete; (3) *Rome, Vat. Lat.* 366, ff. 165—168 is to be considered a gemellus of **J**.

Among manuscripts which I have not examined, *Bodleian Laud. Misc.* 350 and *Laud. Misc.* 383 are of the end of the XI cent. I have taken account of all the manuscripts older than the XIII cent. of which I have had any notice. My edition is based on a few of the XII cent. plus all of the older ones with the exception of the two in the Bodleian. The XII cent. manuscripts not used are the following¹:

Alençon 3
Angers 309
Avranches 239
Cambrai 555
Charleville 121
Draguignan 15
Erlangen, University 176
Erlangen, University 354

¹ Manuscripts which I have examined are marked with a *.

- Eton College 135
 Evreux 9
 *Florence, Laurentian, Plut. 45, Cod. 26
 Le Mans 143
 London, British Museum, Harl. 2659
 Mons 48/102 (No. 297)
 *Munich, Lat. 536 (a. 1144—5)
 *Munich, Lat. 14371 (a. 1145—53), probably a copy of Lat. 536
 Oxford, Bodleian Laud. Lat. 47
 Oxford, Brasenose College 13
 Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 1086
 Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 776
 Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 336
 *Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 1791
 *Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 2359
 Reims 431
 *Rome, Vat. Lat. 8100
 Rouen 931
 Soissons 123
 St. Gall 897
 Vorau 170 (CXVI)

Later manuscripts of this Correspondence are too numerous to mention. By the XIV cent. the Letters are included in almost all of the many manuscripts of the complete works of Seneca. The total number of the manuscripts of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul in existence today must be close to 300. The majority of these is to be found in France.

The earliest references in medieval catalogues of manuscripts are as follows¹:

St. Gall	IX cent.
Reichenau	IX cent.
Lobbes	1049
Cluny (two copies)	1158—61
Canterbury	1170
St. Amand	XII cent.
Durham	XII cent.
An unknown English library	XII cent.

¹ M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig, 1935).

CHAPTER III

THE LATINITY OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

In all the previous discussion of the probable date at which this Correspondence was written no detailed study of the language of the letters has been attempted. Such a study, of course, could not have been accurate until the text was determined with the aid of the best manuscripts. There follows, therefore, a discussion of three phases of the Latinity of this Correspondence: vocabulary, syntax, and clausulae.

A. Vocabulary

The words treated in this section include all those which are remarkable for their departure, whether in form or in meaning, from the best classical usage, as far as can be determined with the aid of available dictionaries and of special studies on the vocabulary of late Latin authors.

New word:

derivamentum 14, 5

Very rare words:

aenigmatica 13, 2

Only here and Ps.-Novatianus (P. Batiffol and A. Wilmart, *Tractatus Origenis de libris ss. scripturarum* [Paris, 1900] 171). The word is combined with *allegorice* in both instances

subsecundare 10, 2/3

Only here and Hilarius, in *Matth.* 7, 8

Words exclusively Christian (mostly in use from the time of Tertullian):

Christianus 11, 14	
Corinthii 7, 3	= Paul's letter to the Corinthians
Deus 12, 3; 14, 5; 14, 14; 14, 15	
ethnici 14, 7	
Galatae 7, 3	= Paul's letter to the Galatians
Iesus Christus 14, 9	
indeficiens 14, 7	
inreprehensibilis 14, 9/10	
Israelitae 14, 7	
spiritus sanctus 7, 5	

Words more common in ecclesiastical Latin or used in a strictly Christian sense:

divinitas 14, 2
gentes 8, 6
humilitas 11, 12
inrogare 9, 8
reatus 11, 5

Words which are classical, but more common later:

corruptela 14, 15
deputare 12, 7
evidenter 6, 4
rusticulus 7, 14
temporalis 14, 11

Greek words:

apocrypha 1, 3	= "apocryphal works" in Tertullian
aporia 10, 7	first used in Itala, <i>Luc.</i> 21, 25 ¹
sophia 14, 10	classical
sophista 2, 9	classical

Post-classical words:

allegorice 13, 2	in scholiasts, Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine
exordium 7, 10	= "treatise" in Columella
generositas 1, 13	first in Columella, common in Christian writings
incongruens 10, 3	
manifeste 11, 11	
observatio 14, 8	
praevaricare 7, 13	for the active form see p. 73
velamentum 11, 17	

¹ Several other instances are listed in H. Rösensch, *Itala und Vulgata* (Leipzig, 1869) 239.

Newly-developed meanings:

collidere 13, 3	mostly post-Augustan and not uncommon, but unexampled in sense "to compose"
dirigere 1, 9	with <i>epistola</i> once each in Cicero and Cyprian, very common in the fourth century
evirare 13, 7	late Latin, rare in figurative sense
grassator 11, 16	pejorative sense only in late Latin
incapabilis 14, 12	very rare word, unexampled in sense "difficult to do"
insinuatio 14, 13	in Cicero "ingratiating one's way", in late Latin, with less force, "persuasion, publication"
offensa } offensus }	8, 10 <i>offensa</i> common in classical Latin, <i>offensus</i> poetical and post-classical. Here there is a distinction in meaning between the two: <i>offensus</i> = the insult done to another; <i>offensa</i> = the resentment felt by the other as a result of the injury
retinere 13, 5	
subripere 7, 8	<i>memoria retinere</i> , only in Aulus Gellius and the Digest classical, unexampled in sense "to keep secret"

The use of *foro* (11, 7) is made clear by the commentary of Donatus on Terence, *Phor.* 1, 2, 29: *scisti uti foro*. Donatus remarks: '*Forum*' *pro tribus intellegitur: loco, tempore, et persona; scisti, inquit, his uti. Et est vulgare proverbium. Sensus autem hic est: scisti, inquit, quid te facere oportuerit.*

B. Syntax

Cum causal is followed by the subjunctive four times (6, 4; 8, 6; 12, 5; 12, 9), but once (14, 12) it has the indicative¹. The indicative is also found in Symmachus, Ammianus, and Augustine.

Nisi quia with the indicative (2, 10) is found in classical Latin, but is much more common in ecclesiastical Latin.

The sequence of tenses is violated three times: 7, 6/8 *Vellem ... proferas ... desit* (the error seems to consist of the

¹ If the tradition of the β manuscripts may be trusted.

use of *vellem* for *velim*); 8, 7 *sit...velles* (a correction to *velis* appears in some δ manuscripts); 11, 12/14 *potuisset...sit...liceret...viderent*.

Quod with the subjunctive in indirect discourse is found in 1, 2/3.

An unusual genitive, *tui praesentiam*, occurs in 1, 7 and probably also in 4, 2¹, parallel to the *praesentiam iuvenis* of 2, 3. Cf., however, *amore meo* 8, 8, where *meo* is distinctly felt as an object of the verbal action in the noun, and *occasione nostri* 1, 5/6, although the text of the latter is uncertain.

Two phrases with *de* are un-classical: *de proximo* 4, 5 and *de futuro* 8, 9. Of the latter I find examples in Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 1, 24, and Martin of Braga, *de Corr. Rust.* 17.

The active form *praevaricare* is uncommon and not known before the fourth century.

Other unusual syntactical arrangements involve awkward grammatical constructions. Isolated manuscripts, however, often show individual corrections of these peculiarities. The first is *visis nobis* 1, 6, which is naturally taken as an ablative absolute, but *nobis* is also required as a dative to complete the sense of *adiuncti sunt*. Is it possible that *visis*, which is not found in **P**, is an addition of Σ ? Since no reason appears for adding it, it seems probable that it was omitted in **P**. Another unusual construction is that of the clause introduced by *certe quod* 1, 7; **D** emended to *certeque*². In 2, 6 the omission of *te* with *neglectum* is slightly awkward; it was, therefore, supplied by the scribes of **G** and **J**. The next line, 2, 7, contains an unusual use of *bene accipere* in the passive with an ablative; the repetition of the same construction in 7, 2 is sufficient proof that there is no manuscript error.

¹ Cf. p. 49.

² Aubertin compares *certe quod* with Greek *ὀηλοῦναι* and with *bene quod*, which occurs frequently in Tertullian.

In 11, 18/19 there is a reminiscence of Vergil, quoted in a slightly changed form. *Unum pro multis dabitur caput* (*Aen.* V 815) is one of Vergil's incomplete hexameters. The quotation was changed to read *datum est*, which should, however, have been *dedit*, since *optimus quisque* cannot be construed in any other way than as its subject. As it stands, *caput* must become the object, which is impossible unless the verb is active. Even *optimus quisque* is unusual, for it seems to mean "the one best man", i. e. Christ, not "all good men". The comparison seems to be triple: the quotation itself refers to the death of Palinurus, who is to be sacrificed in order to assure the safe arrival of the rest of the followers of Aeneas; in addition it is here used to refer to Christ who died for all, and to predict that Nero shall also be destroyed in order to put an end to his persecutions of the Christians.

C. Clausulae

Wilhelm Meyer was the first to discover that Latin writers, in common with Greek, from the fourth century employ an accentual rhythm derived from the original quantitative rhythm. His study was published as a review of Havet's *Prose Métrique de Symmaque* in *Gött. gel. Anz.* (1893) 1—27 and reprinted, with additions, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Mittellateinischen Rhythmik* II 236—286. He found that in the prose which he studied the last two accented syllables of a clause are separated by two or four, rarely by three, unaccented syllables. It is necessary to qualify this statement, however, according to the peculiarities of an individual author. Some, like Ennodius, often employ the form with three intervening syllables; others, like Ammianus Marcellinus, strenuously avoid it.

The method of analysis in the present examination of the prose rhythm of the letters of Seneca and St. Paul is based on one developed by A. M. Harmon in "The Clausula in Ammianus

Marcellinus', *Transactions of the Conn. Academy of Arts and Sciences* XVI (1910) 117—245. This takes into account not only the number of syllables between the last two accented syllables, but also the number of syllables following the last accented syllable and the word-division. The recognized forms are listed in the following table, in which the sign ~ denotes a syllable, and the cross shows the position of the accent:

I	×	~	~	×	~			
II	×	~	~	×	~	~		
III	×	~	~	~	~	×	~	
IV	×	~	~	~	~	×	~	~
A	×	~	~	~	×	~		
B	×	~	~	~	×	~	~	
C	×	~	×	~				
D	×	~	×	~	~			

Each form is divided into types by the position which the caesura occupies and these may be indicated by Greek letters according to the number of syllables between the first accent of the clausula and the caesura, as follows:

×		~		~		~		×		~		~
	β		γ		δ		ε		ζ		η	θ

Hence *esse Romanum* is called Iγ, *libuit licuit* is IIδ, and *graviter fecisse* is Aδ. The letter α indicates a clausula contained within a single word. A clausula may also have more than one caesura, which is indicated by more than one Greek letter; thus *velim ut meus* is Iγδ.

There are altogether in the Correspondence 185 clausulae, which include 64 sentence-endings, exclusive of the formulae of farewell. It is best to analyze first these sentence-endings, in which the observance of a rhythm is most easily determined. The relatively short amount of text hinders generalization, since it is unwise to suppose that, if a certain form is not found, the author would never have used it.

The sentence-endings are divided among the forms as follows: I, 18; II, 11; III, 1?; A, 9; B, 1; C, 11; D, 12; un-

certain, one¹. In most authors forms I, II, and III are the regular ones. The nearly complete absence of III and IV and the large number of C and D are remarkable features of this text. The forms may now be analyzed more fully.

In I the γ (*evidenter ostendit*) and δ (*comites mecum*) types each occur four times, as also β (*est offendetur*) which is less common in other authors. This form may also be contained within a single word. Of Ia (*inspiciamus*) there are two examples.

I γ (*igni cremabitur*) is found five times and II δ (*taliter sentiat*) four times. As in other authors these are the only common types.

The only example of III seems to be *veniam inrogabis*, but if one allows synzeesis, it becomes A.

There are four examples of A γ (*possit expediri*) and three of A δ (*divinitas concessit*).

The only example of B is *proximo videbimus*, but this form is also attested within the sentences.

Ten of C's cases are of the type γ (*patiatur constat*).

Seven of D's are also of type γ (*secessu angimur*).

With this analysis established we can turn to the 121 clausulae within the sentence². Their distribution is as follows: I, 42; II, 22; III, 6; A, 17; B, 6; C, 13; D, 15. For I, II, A, C, and D the proportions thus remain about the same as in the sentence-endings. Four of the six cases of III can again be disposed of by synzeesis (*mendacium velamentum, fieri potuisset, provinciae direxisti, speciem adhibere*); not so, however, the other two (*opera colliduntur, volumina ordinavi*). It is

¹ *urbe contrarium fit* (II, 6) can be adapted to a possible form only by allowing for synzeesis, unless it be emended to *fit contrarium* (cf. *sit contrarium* 8, 6).

² There is, of course, a subjective element in the choice of certain phrase-endings to be regarded as clausulae and the rejection of others. It does not seem worth while, however, to list completely all of those which are here included among the 121 cases of clausulae within the sentence.

notable that these six and the one sentence-ending are all III δ types, and that it is possible, by counting the secondary accent, to consider all of them Ca forms (*còllidúntur*). This would make it unnecessary to allow for any occurrences of forms III and IV in this Correspondence.

In these internal clausulae the types within each form are distributed in the same way as those of sentence-endings. γ and δ account for thirty instances of I, and five of α and β again show an unusual leaning towards these types by our author. Nine cases of II γ and five of II δ are in the regular proportions. There are no cases of A outside of γ and δ , while only two of C and two of D are not the usual γ types. There are four cases of B δ (*hominis rusticuli*).

Complete information for the 185 clausulae is contained in the following table:

	α	β	$\beta\gamma$	γ	$\gamma\delta$	δ	Others	Total
I	5	6		26	6	12	5	60
II	1	1	1	14	4	9	3	33
III						7		7
A				14	1	10	1	26
B						5	2	7
C		1	2	21				24
D		2	4	20			1	27
?							1	1
Total	6	10	7	95	11	43	13	185

A metrical analysis of the clausulae appears to show only that the author of the Correspondence paid little attention to the quantitative rhythm of his phrases. Whereas the quantitative form — \cup — | — \cup from which the accentual form I developed is observed quite frequently (*diebus arsere*), irrational

substitutions of quantity are also found, e. g. — — ∪ | — ∪, *instructus videtur*; and ∪ ∪ — | ∪ ∪, *velim ut meus*. The hexameter ending (*inspiciamus*), although infrequent, is occasionally found within single words. Hiatus is always observed (*nove agamus, heri accepi*).

Therefore, the person who forged this Correspondence had, presumably, just begun to learn to use the forms of the cursus in his composition. The regular forms I and II he employed commonly enough, but he has not become fond of form III, which is so very frequent in other writers. The unusually large proportion of C and D—51 cases out of 185—betrays a writer who has not yet been trained to make each and every one of his clausulae conform to one of the accepted types. Finally the monosyllabic sentence-endings, e. g. *nobis adiuncti sunt* and *quodam decoranda est*, show a style which is, if not careless, at least unpolished. This evidence that the author did pay some attention to the rhythm of his prose is alone sufficient to prove that these letters were not written before the middle of the fourth century, when writers first began to make use of this accentual rhythm. The further evidence that in this case the adoption of the system was not complete fits in well with the thesis of the following chapter (p. 89), that the author was quite possibly a student in a school of rhetoric and that the date of the Correspondence may be placed between 350 and 392¹.

This knowledge of one of the stylistic features of this author may now be used as a criterion in judging the relative worth of manuscript variants. It happens, of course, that many variants do not change the form of the clausula, when they fall

¹ A writer as recent as E. Liénard in an article, 'La Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* XV (1936) 819—838, entirely denies the existence of clausulae in these letters. His explanation (p. 834) is: Nous n'avions pas trouvé cet élément dans les lettres de Sénèque et de Saint-Paul, probablement parce qu'elles devaient pouvoir passer pour authentiques et que, comme l'auteur aurait cru commettre un anachronisme en introduisant des clausules dans un texte soit de Sénèque soit de Saint-Paul, il s'est prudemment abstenu.

within a clausula at all, or that either variant will give one of the accepted forms. There are, however, five places in which the clausula may be used in determining the original text.

1, 13 earum rerum est δ VCD; earum est rerum ω

The δ VCD reading gives an unexampled $B\gamma\epsilon$; the other ($I\gamma\delta$) is most probably correct.

3, 8/9 te praeteriri β ; te praeterii α

There are five other examples of $I\beta$, but only two of $D\beta$. Therefore *te praeteriri* has a slight preference.

6, 5 esse inter vos P δ ; inter vos esse ω

As in the first case we have $B\gamma\epsilon$ against $I\gamma\delta$; *inter vos esse* is the preferred reading.

12, 9 laudare uidearis P; ludere uidearis ω

The reading *ludere* gives IV δ , but since form IV is elsewhere unexampled in this text, the *laudare* of P should be accepted.

12, 10 te esse Romanum P δ ; esse te Romanum ω

The table of frequencies shows that *esse Romanum* ($I\gamma$) has a 26 to 1 chance of being better than *esse te Romanum* ($A\gamma\delta$).

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

During the fifteenth century, as was said in Chapter I, Humanists began to have serious doubts about the genuineness of the Correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul. The great popularity of this Correspondence at that time and in the previous two centuries can be judged from the fact that of this small collection of letters almost three hundred manuscripts survive from the years between 1200 and 1500, in addition to a few earlier and later copies. Since the introduction of printing, few have attempted to show that these Epistles were actually exchanged by Seneca and St. Paul, although there are still some who believe that between these two great figures of the ancient world there was actually a Correspondence, which has since been lost and has somehow been replaced by the one which constitutes the subject of the present volume. In any case it is interesting to speculate about the exact origin of these letters in order to determine as closely as possible the period in which they were written, the person or persons who wrote them, and the purpose for which they were intended.

The external evidence for the existence of the tradition of Seneca's conversion to Christianity has been treated in Chapter I. Two of the quotations introduced there are important for dating the earliest appearance of this Correspondence. The first was that of Lactantius¹, who said that Seneca would have been a true Christian, if there had been someone to show

¹ *Inst. Div.* VI 24, 13—14.

him the way. This statement was made in 325, so that presumably neither the surviving Correspondence nor any other was generally known at that time. The other relevant statement is by Jerome¹, who is the first ever to allude to these letters. It is necessary to dispel any doubts as to the identity of the letters of Seneca and Paul of which Jerome wrote. Were they the same as those which now exist? It has been objected that if Jerome had seen and read the letters now in existence he could not possibly have thought them genuine, and thus he would not have had any excuse for mentioning Seneca in his *De Viris Illustribus*. The answer to this is that Jerome does not specifically state that he had seen the letters themselves. Then, it may be replied, if Jerome did not read them, how could he make a quotation from them? For his words *optare se dicit eius esse loci apud suos cuius sit Paulus apud Christianos* do seem quite certainly to refer to 12, 10/11. The most plausible explanation which has been suggested for this difficulty is that, inasmuch as Jerome was in the Holy Land at the time, he had heard of the Correspondence only through letters from friends, perhaps in Rome, who had told him something of its content. It has also been suggested by those who consider the present Correspondence different from that mentioned by Jerome, that the words supposedly quoted by Jerome may have been inserted purposely from Jerome by the author. This, however, seems unlikely from the naturalness of their position in 12. There is then no reason on external grounds to doubt that the Correspondence now extant was in existence in 392, when it was mentioned by Jerome, and that it had become generally known after 325, at which time it was unknown to Lactantius. If it be supposed that the actual date was much closer to 392 than to 325, this will furnish a plausible explanation of the failure of Jerome to have a more intimate acquaintance with the Correspondence.

¹ *De Viris Illustribus* 12.

It is now necessary to see how this date compares with the evidence that may be compiled from the letters themselves. First of all the evidence of the vocabulary, language, and clausulae, as it was adduced in the preceding chapter, must be examined. The unusual words used by the author of this Correspondence include several which are unknown before the time of Tertullian, several which are exclusively Christian, and still others which are found not before the fourth century and then only rarely. The best inference which can be drawn from this information is probably that the letters could hardly have been written before the middle of the third century, though they may have been written later than the fourth.

No more definite limits can be set by a study of the grammatical constructions. The certainty that the author was acquainted with the system of accentual clausulae, however, is at least sufficient to place his period of activity with some certainty after the middle of the fourth century, when this system acquired popularity. The failure to adopt these forms consistently throughout the text may be due either to the fact that the letters were composed at the time when the clausulae were being introduced, in which case the date must be near the middle of the fourth century, or to the inexperience of an author just learning their use, in which case the date may be any time after 350. So far the results are not incompatible with the external evidence.

Next in importance for the dating of the Correspondence is the material on which the historical allusions in the Correspondence are based. There is, first of all, a quotation (7, 14/16) from Cicero, in which the story of Vatienus is related. It is unlikely that the immediate source was Lactantius, who had borrowed the same tale from Cicero, or Valerius Maximus, who had also borrowed from Cicero¹. There is also one quotation

¹ Cf. p. 143, n. 1.

from Vergil, for 11, 18/19 is based directly on *Aeneid* V 815: *Unum pro multis dabitur caput*.

The knowledge of the fire in Rome may be based either on Tacitus or on Suetonius¹, but the former is more likely, since it is possible to point out one other passage in Tacitus which may possibly have influenced the author. In 11, 16/17 is the statement: *cui voluptas carnificina est et mendacium velamentum*. This is to be compared with *Annals* XIII 47: *Hactenus Nero flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta quaesivit*. Almost immediately after this in the *Annals* come the words: *quoniam diverso itinere Sallustianos in hortos remeaverit*. Quite plausibly the mention of the gardens of Sallust in 1, 5 may have been suggested by this passage in Tacitus. Finally, the word *grassatus* used by Tacitus of the fire² in comparison with the *grassator* of 11, 16 makes it almost certain that the author was acquainted with the *Annals* of Tacitus.

This, however, cannot have been his only source for his story of the fire, because his letter gives the definite information that 132 houses and 4000 apartment-houses were destroyed. This does not have the appearance of being a fiction and must have been based on some source which is now lost. Most probably this source was one of the numerous chronologies existent in the late empire, and from it the names of the consuls in the dates of the last five letters would also have been taken. These names are correct except for three errors, all of which may easily have arisen in the manuscript tradition after the publication of the Correspondence; these are: *Nerone IV* for *Nerone III* in 10, *Frige* for *Frugi* in 11; and *Lucone* for *Lurcone* in 13 and 14. The now extant lists of consuls which were available to a fourth-century writer contain for the year 58 only the regular consuls, and not the *consules suffecti*, Lurco and Sabinus. The number of houses destroyed in the fire and

¹ Cf. p. 147, n. 1.

² *Ann.* XV 40.

the names of all the consuls for the years 58 to 64 must have been contained in some chronology which is now lost. The discovery that the names of Lurco and Sabinus were actually used for dating documents is very remarkable¹. One can hardly suppose that information of this nature was available to any writer considerably later than the fourth century. It certainly could not have been obtained during the age of Charlemagne, although some would argue that at least a part of this Correspondence was written in Alcuin's day.

The phrase *quicquid libuit licuit* (11, 10/11) used in connection with the list of tyrants recalls a passage in Spartianus' *Antoninus Caracallus* 10, 2 in which Caracalla, wishing to marry his step-mother Julia, receives from her the encouragement: *si libet, licet*. It would not be wise, however, to insist too much upon this parallel. The story may have been current in the fourth century, or the play upon the words *libet* and *licet* may have occurred independently to more than one person.

It is noteworthy that, although this Correspondence purports to have Seneca for one of its principals, the works of Seneca are not imitated therein. Only once is he represented as referring to other writings of his own², and even then it is not a particular reference to any definite passage in his other works. On the other hand, Paul is occasionally imitated verbally, while dependence upon other parts of the New Testament is even more evident. It may be said that the Bible, more than any other source, has influenced the author of this Correspondence.

At present it is impossible to cite the Latin versions of the Bible translations previous to Jerome for passages which are parallel in the Bible and in this Correspondence. Obviously the Correspondence was written before the Vulgate translation of Jerome became universally accepted. From the material

¹ P. 146.

² 13, 5.

available it is possible to cite only one passage from the Itala version, *I Cor.* 15, 42: *seminatur corpus in corruptione, surgit sine corruptela*. This may be compared with 14, 15: *novum hominem sine corruptela perpetuum animal parit*. Here the Vulgate version reads *in incorruptione* for *sine corruptela*. The parallels with the text of St. Jerome are listed in the following table:

4, 4/5	Cum primum itaque venire coeperis, invicem nos et de proximo videbimus.	<i>II Ioh.</i> 13 spero enim me futurum apud vos, et os ad os loqui <i>III Ioh.</i> 14 Spero autem protinus te videre, et os ad os loquemur.
5, 5	ut ratione factum non levitate hoc existimet	<i>II Cor.</i> 1, 17 numquid levitate usus sum
6, 2/3	De his quae mihi scripsistis non licet arundine et atramento eloqui	<i>II Ioh.</i> 13 Plura habens vobis scribere nolui per chartam et atramentum <i>III Ioh.</i> 13 Multa habui scribere tibi: sed nolui per atramentum et calamum scribere tibi
6, 9	qui poenitentiam sui gerant	<i>Act.</i> 17, 30 ut omnes ubique poenitentiam agant <i>Act.</i> 26, 20 ut poenitentiam agerent
10, 4/5	cum omnibus omnia esse	<i>I Cor.</i> 9, 22 Omnibus omnia factus sum <i>I Cor.</i> 10, 33 per omnia omnibus placeo <i>I Cor.</i> 15, 28 ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus
12, 5/6	altissimorum montium cacumen	<i>Es.</i> 2, 2 domus Domini in vertice montium, et elevabitur super colles <i>Mich.</i> 4, 1 domus Domini praeparatus in vertice montium et sublimis super colles
12, 9/10	scias te civem esse Romanum	<i>Act.</i> 22, 26 hic enim homo civis Romanus est
12, 10/11	Nam qui meus tuus apud te locus, qui tuus velim ut meus	<i>Gal.</i> 4, 12 Estote sicut et ego, quia et ego sicut vos.

- 14, 4/6 non quidem materiam quae
corrumpi videtur, sed ver-
bum stabile Dei, deriva-
mentum crescentis et ma-
nentis in aeternum
- I Pet.* 1, 23 renati non ex semine
corruptibili, sed incorruptibili
per verbum Dei vivi et perma-
nentis in aeternum
- I Pet.* 1, 25 Verbum autem Domini
manet in aeternum.
- Act.* 6, 7 verbum Dei crescebat
- Act.* 12, 24 verbum autem Domini
crescebat
- Act.* 19, 20 verbum Dei crescebat
- I Ioh.* 2, 14 verbum Dei in vobis
manet

A further influence of the New Testament is probably to be noted in the address of 7, which is sent by Seneca to Paul and Theophilus jointly. There is an error on the part of the writer in joining Theophilus, rather than Timotheus, to Paul, for Theophilus was the friend of St. Luke. The important thing to notice, however, is that Paul included the name of Timotheus with his own in *Romans* 16, 21 and at the beginning of *II Corinthians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *I* and *II Thessalonians*, and *Philemon*.

Recently E. Liénard¹ has called attention to a very significant resemblance of the letters in this Correspondence to the letters of Symmachus. Most of the latter do not exceed in length any of those between Paul and Seneca. They are likewise filled with banalities and an exchange of compliments. One of the common topics of Symmachus is the desire to see in person the one with whom he is corresponding. An example, quoted by Liénard, is Symmachus IX 98, to be compared with the fourth letter of Paul to Seneca:

Amo litteras tuas, sed expecto praesentiam; nam mihi dierum ratio † pollicetur. Plura me scribere spes adventus tui non sinit, sed quod nunc epistulae detrahimus, coram fabulis rependemus.

The resemblance is carried at times even to the very words and phrases; of these Liénard gives a list with discussion of

¹ 'Sur la Correspondance Apocryphe de Sénèque et de Saint-Paul', *Revue Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.* XI (1932) 5—23.

each¹. The conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is that the two letters must have been written at approximately the same period, since they are so kindred in spirit. In the letter of Symmachus just quoted there is absolutely nothing by which it can be dated, but since the earliest extant letter of Symmachus was written in 364 or 365 and the latest in 402, this fits excellently with the date already suggested for the Correspondence, a short time before Jerome mentioned it in 392².

The manuscript tradition of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul goes back at least to the sixth century³. This is in itself sufficient to refute the hypothesis of Westerborg⁴ that some of the letters in the group were written as late as the Carolingian age. There remains, however, another difficult problem, namely the reason for the order of the Epistles in **P** and the question whether 13 and 14 were part of the original

¹ Excluding the more usual Latin words, the following are common to Symmachus and to the Seneca-St. Paul correspondence: *clareo, contristor, copia verborum, corrumpo, cultus, deputo, divinitas, eloqui, evidenter, exhibeo, exhortatio, generositas, graviter, horror, impune, indignatio, insinuo, invicem, legitimus, levitas, offensa, perpendo, persuasio, praeconia, prospere, ritus, rubor, secta, sermo, sero, sors, subinde, sublimis*. The length of this list is the more striking in view of the extreme briefness of the apocryphal letters.

² Liénard has also studied another apocryphal Correspondence, that between Alexander and Dindimus: 'Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi', *Revue Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.* XV (1936) 819—838. In this article Liénard demonstrates in a fairly convincing manner that this second group of false letters was written at the end of the fourth century, after 383. I have not yet been able to study in detail the text of these letters, which has never been edited according to the complete evidence of the best manuscripts, and therefore I am as yet unwilling to subscribe to Liénard's theory that the two sets of Epistles were composed by one and the same man. Certainly they were both written at nearly the same time, but if they were the work of a single person, some more telltale bit of evidence might be expected than has yet been brought forward. For one thing the Seneca and Paul letters are far more poorly written than the others. Is this possibly to be attributed to the re-editing that they appear to have undergone, along with the genuine letters of Seneca, some time before the seventh century?

³ Cf. p. 35.

⁴ *Der Ursprung der Sage, dass Seneca Christ gewesen sei* (Berlin, 1881) 22 ff.

letters. The order of the letters in **P** is: **1, 7, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 10, 12, 3, 4, 9**. There is, unfortunately, very little internal evidence by which to determine the proper order. Ep. **12** is an answer to **10**, but these two are correctly placed in both **P** and **Σ**. In **3** Seneca says that he is going to tell Nero about Paul and the Christians; in **7** he writes to say that he has done so, and immediately receives a rebuke from Paul in **8**; Seneca's apology comes in **9**. If this sequence is correct, then **P** is in error, for in it **3** comes after **7** and **8**. Certainly it seems rather weak to include this letter after Paul has given Seneca sufficient warning that it is too dangerous to give such information to the emperor. On the whole, it is much better to accept the traditional order of the letters as they appear in the largest number of manuscripts, for this has the advantage of putting them in regular order, so that each odd-numbered Epistle is from Seneca and each even-numbered one, with the exception of **12**, is from Paul.

In addition to this inexplicable arrangement of the letters, **P** has also lost the last two. Is it possible that **13** and **14** were written later than the others? It is true that **14** stands apart from all the rest as being the only one in which the missionary activities to be carried on by Seneca are discussed, and it is true that almost one-third of all the non-classical Latin words in the whole Correspondence are to be found in **14** alone. There is not, on the other hand, any similar reason for supposing that **13** did not form a part of the original group of letters. The subject with which it deals, the improvement of Paul's Latin, is in perfect harmony with several of the earlier letters. There is, finally, the evidence of the dates, which have been added to the last five letters. Whatever may be the reason for the dates accompanying only these five and none of the others¹,

¹ If all of the letters bore dates, then the first nine dates were lost at some point before the present manuscript tradition begins. Possibly they had been left for a rubricator who failed to carry out his part when the main text of the manuscript had been finished.

those which have survived show that 10—14 belong together. Furthermore, as I have said, the information contained in these dates could hardly have been available to a writer much later than the fourth century. On the whole, therefore, there is no good reason for supposing that the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul was ever before the public in any form other than that in which it exists today¹.

The date of the letters has thus been set as closely as possible to the years immediately preceding 392 and it has been shown that in all probability they were published in a group as we have them now. The next problem to discuss is the vexed one of their authorship and the reasons for their composition. Previous theories have been inadequate in that they all suppose that the purpose of the letters was to show that Seneca was a Christian, perhaps in order to give more authority to some of the statements of Seneca which people wished to use in support of Christianity; but a close study of the content of these letters reveals only a few places outside of 14 in which Christian doctrines are even mentioned. These are chiefly the places in which Seneca tells Paul that he has been informing Nero of the new beliefs. Another topic, that of expressing oneself well and in good Latin, is quite as prominent throughout, and it is always Seneca who is trying to teach Paul this lesson. A closer examination must now be made of the letters in which a discussion of style is prominent.

1. Seneca has been reading and discussing some of Paul's Epistles to various churches and has derived much inspiration from them. He praises their high moral purpose and intimates that they express not only Paul's sentiments, but through him also the will of God. There is the highest praise of what Paul says, but as yet no mention of the way in which he says it.

¹ The theory of C. Pascal, *Letteratura Latina Medievale* (Catania, 1909) 123—140, that the Correspondence was first written in Greek is utterly untenable, as shown by the reference to *latinitas* in 13, 7.

2. Paul, in excusing his delay in answering, says that Seneca will understand for he knows *quando et per quem et quo tempore et cui quid dari committique debeat*. This over-full list, with its duplication in *quando* and *quo tempore*, resembles a rhetorician's list of terms and his attempt to make his arguments all-inclusive.

3. In the first sentence are more reminders of rhetoric: Seneca has put some writings in order, and has arranged them according to their *divisiones*.

7. Once again Seneca praises the divine inspiration of Paul's Epistles to the Galatians and others and the noble utterances contained in them, but this time he goes on to say that, in spite of the excellent material, they are badly expressed; they lack refinement of language.

9. Seneca has sent Paul a *liber de copia verborum*. From the use of *copia verborum* in Cicero and Quintilian it appears that it regularly referred to facility in using a language. It is more closely defined by Fortunatianus¹. It is clear, therefore, that Seneca is doing his best to remedy the lack of polish for which he has already criticized Paul.

13. This entire letter is devoted to the question of writing well. Once more Paul is praised for the force and inspiration of his thoughts, once more he is criticized for failure to express himself in a manner worthy of those thoughts. This elegant style, Seneca goes on to say, depends not so much upon a flowery use of words as upon a certain refinement. Seneca reflects, however, that he is now contradicting what he himself has preached on other occasions. At the beginning of his *Ep.* 115, for example, he tells Lucilius to think more of what

¹ III 3: *Elocutio quibus partibus constat? quantitate verborum et structuræ qualitate. In verbis quid observabimus? ut copia abundemus et bonitate. Copia quo modo gignitur? legendo, discendo, novando, exercendo.*

he is saying and to pay less attention to the manner in which it is said. The strongest appeal in the whole Correspondence is in the last sentence of this letter, which admonishes Paul to obey the rules for writing Latin in order to give a good outward appearance to his gift of noble sentiments.

14. In the last letter, in which the Christian element is most prominent, the missionary activities which Seneca is to pursue are placed on a rhetorical basis. His *sophia* and his *praeconia rhetorica* are the two things upon which Paul depends for the effective introduction of Christian teachings among the members of Nero's household.

In view of this emphasis on rhetoric throughout the entire Correspondence and in consideration of the generally crabbed style of the letters themselves and of the evidence from a study of the clausulae, which indicates that the language is that of one who is just learning to adopt these forms for his writing, it appears not unlikely that the Correspondence constitutes the work of a student in a fourth-century school of rhetoric. The constant admonitions of Paul to Seneca may re-echo the very words which a teacher in such a school would use to one of his pupils: "You have some good ideas in your essays, but you express yourself very badly." This would explain plausibly the prominence of this subject where one would expect a larger amount of religious discussion.

Of the inner workings of a school of rhetoric, to which an ancient student passed after finishing his study of grammar, relatively little is known. To judge from the *declamationes* which have survived, the emphasis must have been on oral presentation of assigned topics, dealing with historical and literary subjects or with more general themes. Among those which are known are Vergilian topics, such as the words of Dido when she saw Aeneas departing from Carthage¹, and more imaginary matters; for example, speeches against an ambassa-

¹ Ennodius, *Dictiones* 28.

dor who betrays his country ¹, and against a man who refuses to support an aged father ².

Although the emphasis in a rhetor's school was upon oratory and the characteristic method of attaining oratorical perfection was by discussion and declamation, it seems nevertheless that writing as well as speaking must have formed a part of the training. The Correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul might then be considered as an exercise on a fictitious subject assigned by the teacher. As I have already suggested, it is impossible to say whether the teacher was reminded of the possibility of such an exchange of letters by the fact that a tradition about them already existed or whether the tradition grew up later after the letters were published. The other Correspondence which goes back to about the same period, that of Alexander with Dindimus the king of the Brahmins, would be a product of the identical, or at least a closely allied, school.

The comparison already made with the letters of Symmachus suggests that Symmachus and this author may have been trained in the same rhetorical school, though in that case Symmachus was probably the later of the two, since there is no argument for direct borrowing from him in the Correspondence.

The possibility should also be mentioned that the Correspondence is the work of more than one hand, perhaps of two or three scholars in the same school, working in competition on a set problem. This hypothesis has the additional value that it will give a satisfactory explanation for the numerous inconsistencies in the letters, such as the varying attitude towards Nero, the slight emphasis upon Christianity except in 14, and the differences in vocabulary.

The letters of Seneca and Paul, mentioned uncritically by Jerome and by Augustine, were quickly accepted as authentic

¹ Ibid. 14.

² Ibid. 17.

and for many hundreds of years their influence can be traced. They never form a part of the extensive apocryphal literature concerning the New Testament¹, but are very frequently found in the manuscripts with the genuine works of Seneca. Their existence was used not so much to show to what extent Paul had spread his influence as to prove that Seneca had felt that influence. Undoubtedly a considerable element in the importance which Seneca enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages was due to the belief that he had been a Christian, while this belief in turn became so widespread because of the substantiation given to it by these letters to and from St. Paul.

¹ Y is the only one of the manuscripts used in this edition in which the Correspondence is found with some of the New Testament, but since this manuscript is made up of several unrelated parts, put together at a later date, this juxtaposition is only accidental.

CHAPTER V

EDITIONS OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

A. The edition by Alcuin

One of the most important problems of the present day in the field of textual criticism of the Vulgate edition of the Bible concerns the rôle which Alcuin played in determining the exact nature of that text. At the same time this question also has important bearing on the whole subject of the script of Tours at the time of Alcuin's influence and later. Illumination is one important source of evidence for the dating of the manuscripts of this period and the writing is another. When examinations of these two sources disagree in their results, as they occasionally do, it is necessary to determine by the methods of textual criticism the exact interrelation and the relative chronology of the various copies of a book.

The methods followed by Alcuin in editing the Bible are very difficult to determine, chiefly because of the large amount of material which he had before him and because of the enormous amount of labor involved in obtaining anything like complete information by means of collations of all the ninth century Bibles which have survived to our own time. Many preliminary studies must first be made before it will be possible to put together enough information to enable one to state with certainty that any particular variant in the text is definitely and unquestionably an emendation by Alcuin himself.

The most important part of the discussion of the editorial methods of Alcuin is contained in the following books and articles:

W. Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen. Erster Band: Die Schule von Tours. Des Textes erster Teil: Die Ornamentik* (Berlin, 1930). With the review by E. K. Rand, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 193 (1931) 336—351.

E. K. Rand, 'A Preliminary Study of Alcuin's Bible', *Harvard Theological Review* XXIV (1931) 323—396. With the review by W. Köhler, *G. g. A.* 193 (1931) 321—336.

L. W. Jones, 'The Text of the Bible and the Script and Art of Tours', *Harvard Theological Review* XXVIII (1935) 135—179.

It happens that Alcuin also made an edition of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul and that the text of those manuscripts which are descended from his edition stands clearly apart from other manuscripts in 42 places (see the list of δ readings on p. 59). Here, with the possible exception of emendations which might also be scribal errors, the hand of Alcuin may be seen at work. The external evidence for the existence of this edition will be presented first, followed by a detailed study of the variants themselves.

The chief evidence is a brief poem by Alcuin in which he dedicates to Charlemagne a volume which contains a copy of this Correspondence and of the equally spurious letters of Alexander and Dindimus. In fairness to Alcuin, however, it should be added that he never so much as hints at any doubt as to the genuineness of these two groups of letters.

The poem itself is found in the following manuscripts¹:

Bruxelles 2839—42, f. 41v, IX cent. = MS. B of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul. The poem precedes the Alexander-Dindimus and the Seneca-St. Paul letters and was published from this manuscript in Pertz, *Archiv* VII 35.

Reims 434, f. 3, IX cent. = MS. R of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul, after which the poem is found. It was published from this manuscript in *Alcuini Carmina*, ed. Dümmler (*Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* I) No. 81, p. 300 and repeated by C. Morelli, 'Sulle Tracce del Romanzo e della Novella', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* N. S. I (1920) 51.

¹ I have photographs of the Bruxelles, Reims, and Paris manuscripts. Another copy, containing only the first distich, has been brought to light by the publication of Dom Wilmart's catalogue of the *Codices Regienses Latini 1-250* in the Vatican Library. This copy is *Reg. Lat.* 126, f. 259, late XII cent., just before a complete MS. of the Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus.

Paris lat. 7886, f. 14, IX cent., in which a fragment of the Alexander-Dindimus correspondence follows the poem. It was published from this manuscript in *Germanici Caesaris Aratea*, ed. Breysig (Berlin, 1867) p. XVI.

Oxford, Corpus Christi 82, p. 165, XII cent., in which the poem is in the margin of a complete copy of the Alexander-Dindimus correspondence. The first two lines of the poem are printed in H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* II (Oxford, 1852) Corp. Chris. p. 29.

Millstadt, date and present location unascertainable. Apparently the poem came after the Alexander-Dindimus correspondence. This manuscript was used by Frobenius for his *Alcuini Opera* II 606 = *P. L.* 101, 1375. From this it is repeated in *Julius Valerius*, ed. Kuebler (Leipzig, 1888) p. XXVII.

The text of the poem is as follows:

Gens Bragmanna quidem miris quae moribus extat

Hic legitur; lector mente fidem videat.

Hic Pauli et Senecae breviter responsa leguntur:

Quaenam notavit nomine quisque suo.

5 Quae tibi, magne decus mundi et clarissime Caesar,

Albinus misit munera parva tuus.

1 Bragmana Frobenius || Quae] -que Reims 2 mentem fide Paris
3 teguntur Frobenius ex con. Rieberer 5 magnę Brux.

The only complete witness to the edition by Alcuin in existence today is the Bruxelles manuscript, where occur in the proper order: the dedicatory poem, the letters of Alexander and Dindimus, the letters of Seneca and St. Paul. The same manuscript is also, as far as can be determined, the oldest copy extant of either of these sets of Correspondence¹.

In addition to **B** and **R** the edition by Alcuin is also to be traced in **E** and **Q**, which also contain some of the letters of Alexander and Dindimus. Furthermore, **S** and **A** show all 42 of the variants of the Alcuin group, while **W** and **G** have a large

¹ The conversations of Alexander with the king of the Brahmins are found in one other ninth century manuscript, *Leyden Voss. lat. Q. 20*. I have to date located about 60 copies of this work in manuscripts, of which quite a few are incomplete. The latest and most convenient edition is that of B. Kuebler, *Julius Valerius* (Leipzig, 1888) 169—189. Among the manuscripts which contain both Correspondences are *Paris lat. 6385*, *Karlsruhe 506*, and *Oxford Brasenose College 13*.

proportion of them. These eight manuscripts, which are always cited in the order **BARSEWGO**, constitute the group descended from the recension by Alcuin. One other manuscript (**K**) also contains both sets of the Correspondence, but its text of the letters of Seneca and St. Paul is in no way related to that of the Alcuin group, in spite of the fact that it is much contaminated from other sources. Does it then also give the Alexander-Dindimus text in a form which antedates Alcuin's edition? My study seems to indicate that this is quite possible, but I am unprepared as yet to make any definite deductions from that part of my work.

The existence of a common ancestor of **BARSEWGO**, namely δ , a copy of α , has been sufficiently proved (pp. 59 ff.) and it is now safe to assume the identity of δ with the text as published by Alcuin. The 42 variants of the δ manuscripts may, therefore, be examined to see whether any or all of them can be attributed to Alcuin as editor. The discussion of the text of Alcuin's recension of the Bible is divided into four parts by Rand (*H. T. R.* 24, 374) following Köhler (pp. 315 ff.): (1) the order of the books of the Bible; (2) the number and arrangement of the prefatory pieces to the gospels; (3) chapter-divisions and titles of chapters in the gospels; (4) the text of the gospels. This same division is pertinent to the treatment of the text of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul, although this is not the place to discuss the order of the letters in this Correspondence¹. Alcuin has kept the letters in the order in which they were found by him and as they are represented by all the other descendants of Σ .

The letters of Seneca and Paul regularly have one prefatory piece, the twelfth chapter of Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*. It is found, however, only in **W** and **Q** in this group. Since these two manuscripts have other contamination, it is simplest to assume

¹ Cf. p. 88.

that they took the notice from Jerome from some other source and that this notice was not in Alcuin's edition. Since Alcuin would probably not have left this prefatory piece aside if he had found it in his original manuscript, it may be concluded that it was also missing in his exemplar, but it is not possible to prove this.

Fortunately, a much better criterion is to be found in a study of the general title of the Epistles and the salutations and farewell formulae for each of the fourteen letters, with the dates of 10—14; thirty-four items in all. Here the Alcuinian manuscripts often stand apart from all the rest: see i, vi, xi, xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xx, xxxi, xxxv, xxxix of the δ variants, p. 59. These headings correspond to the capitula in the Bible texts. There is, first of all, the general title. A title different from that of all the other manuscripts is found in **BASE**, and abbreviated in **R**. It is longer and more descriptive than the other titles¹. It reads: EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD APOSTOLVM PAVLVM ET PAVLI AD EVNDEM QVAS SIBI PROPTER FAMILIARITATEM MVTVAM TRANSMISERVNT; EXCERPTAE DE LIBRIS EIVSDEM SENECAE. The information about the common friendship of Seneca and St. Paul seems rather unnecessary, unless it indicates that some readers, not knowing of such a friendship, might be surprised to learn of the existence of an exchange of letters between the two. The last phrase has been interpreted in the Appendix (p. 114) to mean that this copy of the letters was taken from a manuscript which also contained other works of Seneca, most probably the genuine correspondence with Lucilius. It is certainly impossible to suppose that anyone could have

¹ The Alcuinian manuscripts of the letters of Alexander and Dindimus exhibit a similar title. The form in **B** is: ALEXANDRI REGIS MACEDONVM ET DINDIMI REGIS BRAGMANORVM DE PHILOSOPHIA PER LITTERAS FACTA CONLATIO. The form in **K**, presumably non-Alcuinian, is: *Epistula alexandri regis magni macedonum ad dindimum regem bragmanorum de philosophia.*

thought that these letters were made up by adapting other works of Seneca. How much less could a scholar like Alcuin have thought so! There were, to be sure, many works in the Middle Ages which were excerpted from Seneca: *De Quattuor Virtutibus*, *De Moribus*, *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, *De Paupertate*, *De Copia Verborum*, to mention the best-known examples¹; but one who sets about forging such a Correspondence as this does not make it up from all-too-obvious quotations, and one does not believe that such a Correspondence is genuine, if one perceives that the letters therein consist merely of quotations.

Three of the salutations have variants in Alcuinian manuscripts. That for **1** is omitted entirely in the uncontaminated **BARSE**. This appears to be an error committed by a copyist, or the title may possibly have been left undone or overlooked by a rubricator. It seems probable that Alcuin intended each letter to have a salutation and a farewell, and where any of the latter was missing he seems to have inserted one of his own. In the salutation of **6** the δ manuscripts have LVCVLLO where most others show LVCILLO. The latter form is quite common in manuscripts of the letters of Seneca to Lucilius. Probably the change to *Lucullus* is an attempt to make a genuine Latin name out of *Lucillus*. The same *Lucullus* is also found in all δ manuscripts at **1**, **2**, but since here it is likewise in **C**, it is not absolutely certain that the change was made by Alcuin. In the title of **7**, **BAR** have ANNEO SENEŌ; this again must be some sort of error, for the letter is not from Seneca but to him. It is most probably a mistake made after the copy left the hands of Alcuin. If Alcuin were making a thorough revision of the text of these letters, he might be expected to have corrected the use of the name *Theophilus* in this same title. Paul's friend was Timotheus, not Theophilus, as Alcuin must have well known. There are other indications that this recension was made hastily. The rest of the salutations show few variants, although

¹ Cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* II (Munich, 1935) 717—20.

they are not well unified, e. g. *Annaeus* appears in the titles of 2, 4, and 7, but nowhere else.

The same manuscripts have the following variations in the formulae at the close of each letter: 1, *frater* is omitted, as also in P; 2, *diu* is omitted, as also in MTP; 3, *amice* is added after *carissime*; 4, *cupio* for *opto*; 5, *Bene ualeas* is added, where Σ seems to have lost the formula by accident; 6, *ualeatis* for *ualete*; 13, *ualeas* for *uale*. There may also be noted in 11, *ualere te* **BASE** with **D** for *te ualere*. There is a desire to change several of the imperatives to subjunctives. In Alcuin's own letters both *ualeas* and *uale* are found, though usually the concluding formula is more elaborate. One salutation is left uncorrected; a careful revision should have changed the *uale* of 7, which is directed to two persons.

Finally 10—14 usually bear dates. δ, in common with many other manuscripts, had lost the date of 12, and had also made an error of its own in losing that of 10. In 11 the *Frigi* of all the other manuscripts has been changed to *Frugi*. This is an intelligent and necessary correction and one which should be attributed to Alcuin. Necessary information was not available to a ninth century scholar, however, to correct the name *Lucone* in the dates of 13 and 14.

All of these changes appear to have been the work of a single person, who was attempting to standardize and when possible to correct the regular titles and the closing phrases of the letters.

In the last place as regards the text itself, there are thirty-two cases in which the edition by Alcuin departs from the other manuscripts (cf. p. 59). For Alcuin's recension of the text of the Bible thirty-six distinct variants have so far been identified. Five of these are given by Prof. Rand (*H. T. R.* 24, 384—5) and the rest by Prof. Jones (*H. T. R.* 28, 174—5). They are of considerable importance as parallels for the cases in the Correspondence, although in total number the changes are very small in

proportion to the extent of the text. The thirty-two cases from the Correspondence fall into certain groups. Two (xxii, xxvii) concern proper names. *Achaicis* is an attempt to interpret a difficult passage. Seneca claims to have read Paul's letters to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Achaeans. The latter has been interpreted¹ as referring to *II Corinthians*. The editor of the δ text, knowing that Paul did not write directly to the Achaeans, suggested that the text should read: letters to the Galatians and to the Achaean Corinthians. The same suggestion was made independently in the margin of ζ , whence it came into UT. *Vatini*, like *rustici* in the following line², seems to be a correction of this name to the form found in some of the manuscripts of Cicero, which have both *Vatinus* and *Vatienus*. Similar changes are found in Jones' list for *Matt.* 27, 46 and *Luke* 3, 28.

There are five examples of omission — vii, viii, ix, xii, xxxix. All but ix may be accidental, but such omissions are paralleled from the list of Jones: *Matt.* 15,35; *Mark* 11,25; *Luke* 2,42; 7,32 etc.

There are four instances of the addition of a single word to the text — iii, xxxv, xlii, xliii —, of which at least the last three look like deliberate attempts to make improvements. Cf. Jones *Luke* 8,12 and *John* 12,22.

Five cases of change of word-order — x, xix, xxix, xxxi, xxxviii — may be compared with Jones *Mark* 4,26; *John* 1,12 and 21,1.

With the exception of xxiii, which may represent the reading of α and which is very difficult to interpret if meant seriously as an emendation, all the rest — ii, iv, v, xv, xviii, xx, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxviii, xxx, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxvii, xli — are variants which constitute for the most part simple changes of single words. A large number of examples, even to mere spelling

¹ P. 142.

² Cf. p. 37.

variants, may be found in the lists of Rand and Jones. From the present list may be eliminated xv, xviii, xxv, xxxiii, and xxxiv on the ground that they are more probably scribal errors than deliberate changes on the part of an editor. A careful examination of the remaining cases of changes in the text will furnish an accurate and intimate picture of Alcuin's editorial methods.

A few remarks by Rand (p. 390) with regard to the form of Alcuin's corrected copy of the Bible are applicable to δ . He is discussing the error of *trea* for *tria*. "Six scribes of Tours in the first half of the ninth century would hardly fall independently into this mistake. I should infer that it existed in some Irish book used by Alcuin, that he had put a dot below the *e* and an *i* above it, and that some of the copies of his recension, even one so late as B. N. 3, had failed to take the correction. This consideration leads to the important inquiry as to the form of Alcuin's edition. He did not, I take it, remove all traces of the basic text, but like Theodulf put many of his variants in the margins or between the lines. One copy of his work was sent to the emperor. One or more remained as models for later scribes, who would inevitably differ in the exactness with which they incorporated Alcuin's variants in the text. This consideration should lead us to go slow in constituting the groups of manuscripts."

It is no less advisable to "go slow" in attempting to constitute groups for the descendants of Alcuin's edition of the Correspondence. The little evidence which is available for this purpose has been stated on pp. 61—62. The following three instances are sufficient to indicate that the three oldest Alcuinian manuscripts, **BRS**, may present individually now the correction, now the original reading of the text in which the changes of Alcuin had been made: *preuaricare* **BS**, *preuaricari* **R**; *uellis* **BR**, *uelis* **S**; *ornamenta* **B**, *ornamento* **RS**. It is because of such readings as these that these three manuscripts have been represented in

the stemma as separate copies, or descendants of separate copies, of Alcuin's manuscript. In the second of these three readings **R** has corrected *uellis* to *uelis*. This probably indicates that Alcuin found *uelles* in his copy. A verb form so obviously violating the sequence of tenses must be corrected, he thought. He indicated the correction by a dot under one *l* and an *i* over the second *e*. **S** interpreted this correctly, but **B** and **R** failed to omit the *l*. **R** discovered his mistake, but **B** did not. Nos. ii and iii of the list on pp. 61—62 may also be used to show a similar state of affairs in other parts of Alcuin's manuscript.

One further test of Alcuin's influence on this group of manuscripts may be applied from his treatise on orthography¹, written to direct his scribes at Tours. Of course, no existing manuscript of the δ family comes nearer than 50 years to the date of Alcuin's death, but it may nevertheless be profitable to state briefly the degree to which the three oldest, **BRS**, observe the recommendations of Alcuin. I have selected 44 words from the text of the letters of Seneca and St. Paul, for the spelling of which a preference was stated by Alcuin. In each case Alcuin's model word follows in parentheses.

In 25 cases all three manuscripts follow the form preferred by Alcuin: *neglectum* (*neglegens*), *annuerit* (*annuo*), *impune* (*improbis*)², *intellegant* (*intellego*), *apparuisent* (*appono*), *quicquid* twice (*quicquid*), *affecti* and *affectent* (*afficio*), *hi* and *his* twice each (*hi*, *his*), *haud* (*haud*)³, *hi* twice (*deficit* **R**) (*kalendas*), *apud* (*apud*), *atque* (*atque*), *committi* (*commo-damus*), *opto* three times and *optauimus* (*optat*), *supplicium* (*supplico*), *colliduntur* (*collocat*).

On thirteen occasions one or two of the three manuscripts fail to follow Alcuin's recommendations. *impune* and *haut* have already been mentioned: *afferat* **BR**¹, *adferat* **RS** (*afficio*),

¹ *Orthographia Albini Magistri*, ed. H. Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 7, 295—312.

² 3, 8, but in 11, 13 **BR** have *impune*, **S** has *impune*.

³ 12, 7, but in 7, 12 **B** has *haut*.

caeperis B, *coeperis* RS (*coepit*), *ammirandarum* BR, *admirandarum* S and *admoneri* BS, *ammoneri* R (*ammoneo*), *praerogabis* BS, *prerogabis* R (*ae*), *imponat* BS, *inponat* R (*improbus*), *carissime* four times BS, *carissime* once and *kme* with abbreviation stroke three times R (*carissime*), *corruptella* B, *corruptela* RS (*corruptela*).

Finally all three violate Alcuin's rules four times: *inbutus* (*imbuit*), *admirer* (*ammoneo*), *adsecuta* (*assumo*), *uatim* B, *uatum* R, *uatini* S (-ii) (with the possible exception of R the evidence points to *Vatini* rather than *Vatinii* in the exemplar).

This makes a total of 94 agreements out of a possible 127 between the spellings of the three oldest δ manuscripts and that indicated by Alcuin as his own preference. S agrees 34 times out of 43. In consideration of the time which had elapsed from Alcuin's death to the copying of these manuscripts, the amount of agreement is sufficient to show that the δ tradition was quite probably influenced by Alcuin¹.

The conclusion of this section, that the Carolingian recension of the Correspondence represented in the δ family was made by Alcuin himself, is, therefore, supported by the following arguments: his own dedicatory poem, the common variants in the headings and conclusions, the emendations in the text, which resemble those in Alcuin's recension of the Bible, and the correspondence of the orthography of the manuscripts with that recommended by Alcuin.

B. Modern Editions

Printed editions of the Correspondence begin with six books of the fifteenth century listed in Hain, *Repertorium Biblio-*

¹ Edm. Liénard, *Revue Belge* XI (1932), states that Manitius thought that these letters were written by Alcuin. But Manitius says nothing of the kind; he merely remarks that Alcuin made the Correspondence familiar to the French. His actual words are: So machte Alchvine die Kategorien Augustins, den Briefwechsel zwischen Paulus und Seneca und die Briefe zwischen Alexander und dem Bragmanenkönig im Frankreich heimisch (*Gesch. der lat. lit. des mit.* I 248).

graphicum II, 2 (Stuttgart, 1838)¹. The oldest of these are 14590, Naples 1475, and 14601, Rome 1475, the former in a volume of the complete works of Seneca, the latter accompanying the genuine Epistles. Other incunabula editions include: 14593, Venice 1490; 14594, Venice 1492; 14607, Cologne 1499; 14628, Cologne 1499. The third of these is the only one in which the Correspondence was published separately.

The first great editor of the works of Seneca was Erasmus. His edition was originally issued at Basel in 1515, while Erasmus himself was in England. It was produced rather carelessly by those in charge and therefore required revision and improvement for a second edition, which appeared in 1529. The Correspondence with Paul is included with the other spurious works of Seneca and is preceded by a long paragraph in the forceful Latin of Erasmus, which could leave little doubt in the minds of the readers as to the spuriousness of these letters. To quote a few sentences:

His epistolis non video quid fingi possit frigidius aut ineptius et tamen quisquis fuit auctor, hoc egit, ut nobis persuaderet Senecam fuisse Christianum... Quam nihil est in Paulinis epistolis illo Pauli spiritu dignum, quam vix usquam audias nomen Christi, cum ille non soleat aliud crepare quam Iesum Christum... Illud insignitae cuiusdam stultitiae est quod Seneca mittit Paulo librum de copia verborum quo posthac melius scribat Romane. Atqui si Paulus nesciebat Latine poterat Graece scribere, cum Graece nosset Seneca... Illud omnium impudentissimum quod cum faciat Senecam in Apostolo desiderantem copiam et cultum sermonis, tamen in his epistolis nihilo cultius scribit Seneca quam Paulus. Sed par est utriusque balbuties et sensum frigus atque ineptia... Non dubito quin vel mulio vel agaso Senecae minus inepte fuerit scripturus.

Doubtless Erasmus felt that such strong language was necessary to combat the influence that this Correspondence had been enjoying almost unchallenged for so many centuries.

Of other sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century editions of the Epistles only those two deserve mention which had an influence on later editors: Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca*

¹ The supplements of Copinger and Reichling are not at present available.

Sancta (Lyon, 1575) I 111—113 and Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703) 880—904. Sixtus Senensis was one of the last editors to publish this group of letters with full confidence that they were genuine. He explains the Latin, so unlike Seneca's own, by supposing that Seneca wrote in such a style for the express purpose of being able to deny authorship, if any of the letters should be intercepted! The text of Fabricius is accompanied by extensive critical notes, some of which are still valuable¹.

A more scientific examination of the text of the Correspondence was made by two scholars who published their work in the same year in the middle of the last century. A. Fleury in his *St. Paul et Sénèque* (Paris, 1853) was a strong champion of all previous believers in the probability of Seneca's adherence to Christianity. He did not, however, believe that the existing Correspondence is genuine. Nevertheless he included it in the second volume of his work, pp. 300—338, with many notes and an apparatus criticus, followed by a French translation on pp. 339—347. His text was based chiefly on a Toulouse manuscript of the fifteenth century, but relies occasionally upon readings from three Paris manuscripts, lat. 2359, 6344, and 6389. Aubertin, *Sénèque et Saint-Paul* (Paris, 1872) 428—444 repeated without change the text of Fleury, but added a new French version.

The other edition of the Seneca-St. Paul Epistles in the year 1853 was by Haase in the Teubner series, *L. Annaei Senecae Opera Quae Supersunt* III 476—481. On p. XXII of the preface to this volume, the editor told of the difficulties which he had in establishing a text which would be at all satisfactory. He unfortunately used the edition of Fabricius as

¹ The phrase *foro quod sors concessit* (11, 7) is explained as the "forum of divine justice, since that is the only one left to us by a tyrannical emperor". Fabricius was also the first to suggest the interpretation of *Achaeis* which I have adopted on p. 142.

a model, only correcting its more obvious corruptions and omissions. In addition he had the collation of an Erfurt manuscript made for him by Fickert and the readings of two Breslau manuscripts, which he had himself examined. Of the state of the text and of the possibility of restoring it further he remarked:

Tot supersunt loci dubii et depravati, ut verisimile mihi sit ineptam falsarii orationem iam a veteribus librariis magis etiam vitiatam esse; sed tamen quoniam codices vetustissimi, Argentoratensis, quo epistulae Senecae, et Mediolanensis, quo dialogi continentur, ad emendandas subditicias has epistulas nondum adhibiti sunt, sperare de iis optima quaeque licet.

The two manuscripts referred to are, respectively, **F** and **L** of the present edition. Scholars of the next three decades devoted their energies to obtaining and interpreting the readings of these two manuscripts, both of which were believed to belong to the ninth century. The studies of Lowe on the Beneventan script have shown that **L** should be ascribed to the end of the eleventh century¹.

Wachsmuth, 'Zu Seneca's Briefwechsel mit dem Apostel Paulus', *Rhein. Mus.* XVI (1861) 301—3, was the first to make available some of the readings of the Ambrosian manuscript (**L**). He gave a selection of 56 readings and glosses which, he believed, furnish improvements over the text of Haase. He made a serious error, however, in attributing to the ninth century the hand which wrote the first Epistle and made the numerous corrections throughout the manuscript. He has, furthermore, made several errors in reading this hand. It is important to call attention to one of them at this point. For some inexplicable reason editors since Erasmus have printed the eleventh letter of the Correspondence after the twelfth. In his comments on 12, really 11, Wachsmuth transcribed a marginal note in the manuscript: *vir studiose, superiori epistolae: quotienscunque tibi subscribe*. This has been seized on by later editors and critics

¹ Cf. p. 16.

as proof that even in this manuscript the position of the eleventh letter is uncertain. Actually the comment was meant to accompany the twelfth letter, in which Seneca discusses the subject of the proper position of Paul's name, in answer to 10. Wachsmuth has misread several of the words in this note: *vr* is an abbreviation for *videtur*, not *vir*; *studiose* is a wild guess for some word ending in *-dere* apparently; *subscribe* is actually *scribo* as in 10, 2. These are, therefore, to be interpreted as the remarks of a reader who wished merely to call attention to the fact that 12 is a direct answer to 10.

The other (F) of the two older manuscripts known to Haase was utilized for an edition by F. X. Kraus, 'Der Briefwechsel Pauli mit Seneca', *Theologische Quartalschrift* XLIX (1867) 603—624. It had been sent, together with another Strasbourg manuscript (J), to Freiburg for the inspection of Bücheler. While they were in the hands of Bücheler, a nearly complete collation of each was made by Kraus. It is now possible to know F and J only through his edition, since they were destroyed three years after its publication. Kraus was also able to use the partial collation of L in the article of Wachsmuth cited above. The text of Kraus is fairly sound, considering the one-sided evidence that was available, for it will be noted by reference to the stemma that, with the exception of the contaminated readings of J, a late manuscript and seldom to be relied upon, all three of these manuscripts are derived from β .

When Haase was ready to republish the works of Seneca in the Teubner series he was able to take advantage of Wachsmuth's publication of L and Kraus' of F and J. His second edition of 1872, reprinted in 1883, 1895, and most recently in the *Supplementum* of 1902, pp. 74—79, differs from the first in at least 55 places. In spite of this fact, the misleading preface of the first edition has been repeated without change with each new reprinting of the improved text, which has been the only

one readily available for the last 66 years. Haase's exact debt to Kraus may be discovered by comparing the list of variants in my first Index¹ with the readings of F in the apparatus.

The most recent edition of these letters accompanies a monograph by E. Westenburg, *Der Ursprung der Sage, daß Seneca Christ gewesen sei* (Berlin, 1881) 41—50. In addition to the material already mentioned, Westenburg also possessed a complete collation of L, made for him by Wachsmuth. The text contains several conservative conjectures by the editor, one of which (*sublimi ore* 7, 5) I have accepted. This edition was reviewed by Harnack in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* VI (1881) 446.

The fifty-seven years that have elapsed since the time of Westenburg have produced no study whatever of the text of these Epistles. Thus, of the nineteen manuscripts older than the twelfth century now available only three have ever been examined before.

¹ Pp. 153—4.

CHAPTER VI

TESTIMONIA

The passages which are brought together here include, as far as could be discovered, all references to the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul before the thirteenth century. At a later time it is mentioned much more frequently, especially by the Italian humanists.

I. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* XII, a. 392 (text on p. 122).

II. Augustine, *Ep.* CLIII 14, a. 413—414.

Merito ait Seneca, qui temporibus apostolorum fuit, cuius etiam quaedam ad Paulum apostolum leguntur epistolae: "Omnes odit, qui malos odit."

III. Pseudo-Linus, *Passio Petri et Pauli*, VII century.

Concursus quoque multus de domo Caesaris fiebat ad eum (Paulum), credentium in Dominum Iesum Christum et augmentabatur cotidie fidelibus gaudium magnum et exultatio, sed et institutor imperatoris adeo est illi amicitia copulatus, videns in eo divinam scientiam, ut se a colloquio illius vix temperare posset, quatinus si ore ad os illum alloqui non valeret, frequentibus datis et acceptis epistolis ipsius dulcedine et amicali colloquio atque consilio frueretur, et sic eius doctrina agente spiritu sancto multiplicabatur, ut licite iam doceret et a multis libentissime audiretur. Disputabat siquidem cum ethnicorum philosophis et revincebat eos, unde et plurimi eius magisterio manus dabant. Nam et scripta illius quidam magister Caesaris coram illo relegit et in cunctis admirabilem reddidit. Senatus etiam de illo alta non mediocriter sentiebat.

IV. Alcuin, Dedicatory poem to his edition, c. 795 (text on p. 96).

V. Peter Abelard, *Sermo* XXIV (repeated in almost identical words in *Expositio in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* I, 1).

Quantus autem et apud philosophos habitus sit (Paulus) qui eius vel praedicationem audierant vel scripta viderant, insignis ille tam eloquentia quam moribus Seneca in epistolis quas ad eum dirigit his verbis protesta-

tur¹: Libello tuo lecto, de plurimis ad quosdam litteris, quas ad aliquam civitatem seu populum caput provinciae direxisti mira exhortatione vitam moralem contemnentes, usquequaque refectioni sumus. Quos sensus non puto ex te dictos, sed per te, certe aliquando ex te et per te. Tanta etenim maiestas earum rerum est tantaque generositate clarent ut vix suffecturas putem hominum aetates quibus institui perficique possint. Meminit et Hieronymus huius laudis Senecae erga Paulum in libro De illustribus viris, cap. 12, ita scribens: ... Then follows the chapter of Jerome in full.

VI. Id., *Introductio ad Theologiam* I 24.

Seneca quoque inter universos philosophos, tam moralis doctrinae quam vitae gratiam adeptus, spiritum sanctum bonorum omnium distributorem patenter proficitur, ita de ipso ad Paulum apostolum in quarta² scribens epistola: Profiteor me bene acceptum lectionem litterarum tuarum quas Galatis Corinthiis Achiis misisti. Spiritus enim sanctus in te supra excelsos sublimior satis venerabiles sensus exprimit.

VII. Id., *Theologia Christiana* I (towards the end).

Ex epistola quarta Senecae ad Paulum: ... followed by the same quotation as in VI³.

VIII. Peter of Cluny, *Tractatus adversus Petrobrusianos* (P. L. 189, 737 C), c. 1150.

Nonne ipsi Paulo famosus ille philosophus Seneca dixit nullas se credere suffecturas aetates ad litterarum illarum altitudinem capiendam?⁴ Nonne et illa crudelis bestia Nero, his eodem philosopho recitante auditis, mirari se dixit, unde homini, ut dicebat, indocto, tanta scientia inesse potuit?⁵

IX. Petrarch, *Epistle to Seneca*.

Ego quidem de te ista non suspicor eoque magis propositum animi miror; nam et superior illa frivola nimis et vana sunt, ultimum hoc nefarium etiam et immane. Et ita tibi visum: una quidem epistolarum tuarum ad Apostolum Paulum non modo innuit, sed fatetur⁶.

X. Among several fragments found in some XIV and XV century manuscripts of the *De Moribus*, attributed to Seneca

¹ Seneca to Paul, 1.

² No. 7 in the Correspondence, but the fourth letter written by Seneca.

³ It is noteworthy that VI and VII both follow quotations from the Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus, showing that the author was quoting from a manuscript derived from the edition by Alcuin.

⁴ 1, 14.

⁵ 7, 11.

⁶ This refers to Nero's persecution of the Christians in 11.

and published by B. Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.* 33 (1890) 1, 227 ff., repeated in *Notices et Extraits de Quelques MSS. Latins de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris 1890—3) V 178 ff.

Seneca Paulo: Tulit priscorum aetas Alexandrum, Philippi filium, et post Darium et Dionysium, nostra quoque Caium Julium Caesarem, quibus quicquid libuit licuit.

Mention of the Correspondence in the four following places appears to be derived solely from the notice in Jerome:

- I. Freculphus, *Chronicon*, IX century.
- II. Honorius of Autun, *De luminaribus ecclesiae* I 12, a. 1120.
- III. Otto of Freising, *Chronicon* III 15.
- IV. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* 9, 9.

The brief statement in Martinus Polonus, *Chronicon* IV 4, may come from Pseudo-Linus.

Finally there is the poem from MS. Z, mentioned on p. 25. I quote lines 19—23.

Quidam philosophus de nomine Seneca dictus,
 Conpunctus uerbis, fit mox per cuncta fidelis.
 Quod Paulus gaudens domino gratesque rependens
 Dilexit, semper uerbis scriptisque libenter.

APPENDIX

On the Relation of Σ to the Archetype of the Extant MSS. of Seneca's Epistles 1—88

More than half of the manuscripts used for this edition of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul contain other works ascribed to Seneca, whether falsely or correctly. In **D** the Correspondence is preceded by the *Declamationes* of the Elder Seneca and followed by the *De Clementia* of Seneca the Younger. The *De Clementia* also follows this Correspondence in **K**. **L** is the famous manuscript of the twelve *Dialogi*. In **N** the supposed epitaph of Seneca is inserted between the notice from Jerome and the letters to Paul. In **L** and **U** it follows the letters. Other works attributed to Seneca are the *De Copia Verborum* in **Q** and the *Proverbia* in **X**.

Of greater significance is the existence of one or more of the genuine Epistles of Seneca in six of these manuscripts. **O** and **Z** are alike in contents, in that they contain the letters to Paul, the epitaph, and the first 88 letters to Lucilius. **J** was probably similar to these, but it is now destroyed and there are no accurate reports of it. We have a much better description of **F**, also destroyed. The account on p. 11 shows how the letters to Paul, followed by a part of the first three letters to Lucilius, were substituted for the first quaternion of a manuscript which originally contained only Epistles 89—124 to Lucilius. **W** has twelve selected letters to Lucilius, all taken from Epistles 2—47, and a second copy of the letters to Paul in the same manuscript with **C** is followed by the first letter to Lucilius. Apart from **C** and **J** there are four manuscripts which contain both the

Correspondence of Seneca and Paul and a certain number of the Letters of Seneca to Lucilius, whose importance for determining the text of the latter is recognized by all editors. The exact collocation of these manuscripts is as follows:

Seneca-Paul **F** = Seneca-Lucilius **A**
 Seneca-Paul **O** = Seneca-Lucilius **b** (or **Par. b**)
 Seneca-Paul **W** = Seneca-Lucilius **g**
 Seneca-Paul **Z** = Seneca-Lucilius **M**

A recent study by O. Foerster, *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen zu Senecas Epistulae Morales und Naturales Quaestiones* = 'Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft', Heft 10 (Stuttgart, 1936), makes it possible for the first time to have some definite information as to the character of the archetype of the manuscripts of the genuine Epistles of Seneca. A comparison of this archetype, which is called Ω , with Σ , the archetype of all the manuscripts of the Correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul except **P**, will prove interesting for the light that each can throw on the other, since Σ itself was almost certainly a manuscript of the first 88 letters to Lucilius, preceded by the Correspondence with Paul. One of the reasons for this assumption is the identity of contents of **O** and **Z**, and of **F** as far as it goes¹. Another reason is to be found in the wording of the general title of Alcuin's edition of the letters to Paul, as copied by four δ manuscripts, **BASE** (cf. p. 98). The full title is: *Epistolae Senecae ad Apostolum Paulum et Pauli ad eundem, quas sibi propter familiaritatem mutuam transmiserunt, excerptae de libris eiusdem Senecae*. One cannot possibly think for a moment that the last phrase is to be interpreted as showing that Alcuin thought these letters mere excerpts from other works of Seneca. The best inference to be drawn from the word *libris* is that it refers to a manuscript containing some works of Seneca, whether letters to Lucilius or something else, from

¹ It is not recorded whether **F** had the epitaph preceding the letters to Lucilius.

which Alcuin took the copy of the letters to Paul for his edition. Thus there is evidence from Z and partial evidence from C and δ for the existence of the letters to Lucilius in α , also evidence from F and O for the existence of these same letters in β . It is, therefore, probable, although it cannot be proved, that Σ was a manuscript of the letters to Paul followed by these to Lucilius. For all we know, these two sets of correspondence may have been put together for the first time in Σ , along with the notice about Seneca from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, since P does not contain this notice.

It is unfortunate for the purposes of this comparison that the study of Foerster is only preliminary. He left out A , which is fragmentary, and gave very slight mention to M and g , so that b is the only one of these four manuscripts represented among the six which he studied. Hence it is impossible to be certain that his archetype Ω does not correspond to the β of this edition, rather than to Σ .

One of the striking parallels to be noted is that of the date of Ω . In *Rev. de Philologie* I (1877) 156 Chatelain had already demonstrated that MS. p of the letters to Lucilius was copied from a minuscule manuscript which was written earlier than the reforms of Charlemagne. Foerster's classification makes p a direct copy of Ω . This date does not conflict with that of Σ since δ , a descendant of Σ in the second generation, is known to be earlier than 804, the year of Alcuin's death. Both Ω and Σ , then, were written in the eighth century, or possibly earlier.

Another striking resemblance between Ω and Σ is the existence of double readings in each. Those in Ω are demonstrated by Foerster in the following manner: Ω had three copies, α , γ , and p , which may be proved by the fact that each one of these has independent errors. It is also found, however, that αp agree in error occasionally where γ has the right reading, γp agree in error where α has the right reading, and $\alpha \gamma$ agree in

error where only **p** is correct¹. This state of affairs is reasonably explained by assuming that Ω had two readings wherever two of these three manuscripts have common errors and that the copyists have exercised their own judgment in choosing now the one, now the other. Furthermore, Foerster finds it necessary to assume that γ often copied both variants from Ω , because of such cases as the sharing of errors between **p** and one or two single descendants of γ . This exactly corresponds to the situation in the manuscripts of the letters of Seneca to Paul, where Σ had doublets which were copied by β , so that they appear as variant readings in copies of β . An excellent example of this in the letters to Paul is the variation between *quae* and *quibus* in 6, 2. See the discussion of this point on p. 50. It is to be noted that MS. **O**(= **b**) is descended from β , for the Correspondence, and, for the letters to Lucilius, is descended from γ . There is, however, no sufficient evidence for assuming the identity of the β of this edition with Foerster's γ .

An interesting statement concerning the tradition of the letters of Seneca to Lucilius is made by Foerster on p. 33, every word of which is as applicable to the Correspondence of Seneca and Paul as to the genuine letters: "Es steht fest, daß der Text der Briefe Senekas im 9./10. Jh. und wohl schon früher starken Eingriffen unterworfen war, die den Zweck hatten, einen verständlichen Text herzustellen; denn die Briefe waren kein Schriftwerk, das durch Zufall und ohne sachliches Interesse selten abgeschrieben wurde, sondern sie wurden wirklich zum Studium gelesen; das bezeugt auch die große Zahl der erhaltenen Handschriften. Der Text des Archetypus unserer älteren Hand-

¹ On p. 32 Foerster states the problem as follows: „Da aber Übereinstimmung zweier selbständiger Abkommen einer Vorlage gegenüber einem Dritten stets die Lesart dieser Vorlage darstellt, können richtige Lesarten α , wenn sich in **p** und γ eine in gleicher Weise verderbte Lesart findet, oder richtige Lesarten γ , wenn sich in α und **p** der gleiche Fehler findet, oder richtige Lesarten **p**, wenn sich in α und γ der gleiche Fehler findet, nicht oder nur aus einer Doppellesart aus der Vorlage von $\alpha\gamma$ (= „Archetypus“) stammen.“

schriften enthielt aber eine große Zahl grob sinnstörender Fehler."

Further study of the manuscript tradition of the Epistles of Seneca to Lucilius should bring to light other interesting information for the tradition of the letters of Seneca and Paul. I will mention only one of the possibilities. No complete collation of the text of the genuine letters in **Z** has ever been published. It is known, however, that Epistles 1—52 are by the first scribe and 53—88 are by the second. Since there are other manuscripts of these Epistles which contain only 1—52 and some which contain only 53—88, it remains to be shown whether the two sections in **Z** are from a single source. In view of the contamination which it was necessary to assume for **Z** (cf. p. 57) in the letters of Seneca and Paul, the results of the investigation of the sources of the entire manuscript may be of importance.



**EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD PAULUM
ET PAULI AD SENECAM
«QUAE VOCANTUR»**

Conspectus Siglorum

A	Rome Vat. Lat. 251	XI saec.	
B	Bruxelles 2839—2843	IX	
C	Berne 225	XI	1—13
D	Rome Reg. Lat. 1637	XII	
E	Einsiedeln 262	XI	
F	Strasbourg C. VI. 5	IX/X	
G	Angers 284	XI	1—9
H	Rome Reg. Lat. 119	XII	
J	Strasbourg C. VI. 17	XI	
K	Rome Reg. Lat. 147	XII	
L	Milan C. 90. inf.	XI	
M	Munich lat. 14436	X/XI	
N	Munich lat. 18467	XII	1—7, 11 legitime
O	Paris lat. 8539	XI	
P	Paris lat. 2772	X(IX/X)	1—12 (1, 7, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 10, 12, 3, 4, 9)
Q	Paris lat. 12295	XII	
R	Reims 434	IX	3—6 <i>post</i> 14
S	St. Gall 197	IX/X	
T	Metz 500	X	
U	Zürich C 129 (453)	IX	
V	Rome Reg. Lat. 1424	X	1—3, 3 eis de-
W	Wolfenbüttel 335 Gud. Lat.	XI	
X	Vienna 969	IX	1—12
Y	Vienna 751	IX	12, 9 quippe— 14
Z	Metz 300	XI	

α = consensus codicum **BARSEWGQVCDZ**

δ = consensus codicum **BARSEWGQ**

β = consensus codicum **XFOLYUMT**

ζ = consensus codicum **LYUMT**

ω = consensus codicum omnium praeter nominatim adlatos

Kr = editio F. Kraus

<i>add.</i>	addidit	<i>marg.</i>	margo
<i>cod.</i>	codex	<i>om.</i>	omisit
<i>con.</i>	coniecit	<i>pr.</i>	prior
<i>corr.</i>	correxuit	<i>ras.</i>	rasura
<i>del.</i>	delevit	<i>rel.</i>	reliqua
<i>ed.</i>	editor, editio	<i>rubr.</i>	rubricator
<i>Ep.</i>	Epistola	<i>scr.</i>	scripsit
<i>lac.</i>	lacuna	<i>subp.</i>	subpunctavit
<i>litt.</i>	littera	<i>suppl.</i>	supplevit
<i>m.</i>	manus		

Lineola | finem versus indicat.

INCIPIIT PROLOGVS SANCTI HIERONIMI.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca Cordubensis, *Sotionis* stoici
discipulus et patruus Lucani poetae, continentissimae
vitae fuit. Quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum,
5 nisi me illae epistolae provocarent quae leguntur a
plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam aut Senecae ad Paulum, in
quibus, cum esset Neronis magister et illius temporis
potentissimus, optare se dicit eius esse loci apud suos
cuius sit Paulus apud Christianos. Hic ante biennium
10 quam Petrus et Paulus martyrio coronarentur a Nerone
interfectus est. EXPLICIT PROLOGVS.

Prol. 8: Sen.-Paul. 12, 10/11.

Prologum non habent BARSEGCLP, post Ep. 14 add. D 1 HIERO-
NIMVS W Ieronimus (Ier Q) de Seneca sic scribit (sic scribit *om. K*) in
libro de illustribus uiris QK Iheronimus in cathalogo uirorum industrium
(sic) D RELATIO IERONIMI DE SENECA Z IERONYMVS Incipit prologus
F INCIPIIT PROLOGVS SANCTI HIERONIMI IN LIBRO EPISTOLARVM
SENECAE O VERBA DOMNI HIERONIMI PRESBITERI QVAE POSVIT
IN CATALOGO SANCTORVM VIRORUM ILLUSTRIVM CAPITVLA XII
(CAPITVLA XII *om. M*) DE LVICIO ANNEO (ANNIO *corr. T*) SENECA
MT Incipit praefacio Ieronimi presbyteri N Incipit prologus sancti iheronimi
presbyteri (s. i. p. *om. J*) in epistolis paulo apostolo (apostolo *om. H*) a
seneca transmissis HJ *Titulum prologi non exhibent* VXU 2 Lucius *om.*
W || AENNEVS Z Ennius XK Annius NJ || cordobensis V cordubaensis D
|| et post cordubensis *add. N* || Sotionis *scripsi* Socionis Q Stratini HJ Fotini
ω || stoici *om. W* 3 discipuli D || constantissimae V 4 cathalogo (r
exp.) Q catalago ZM cathalogo WDXOH chatalogo U || sanctorum] illustrium
uirorum K 5 epistolae illae F?OKr 5/6 a plurimis *om. N* 6 plurimis] cum
pluribus D pluribus VU || aut] et QVZ?F?MTKKr 6/7 in quibus] qui N 7
Neronis esset Q || magister Neronis V || tempore N 8 potissimus D optare-
suos] optasse dicitur se esse apud suos eius loci N || eiusdem *corr. M* ||
esse eius H || loci *supra suppl. M* || suos] Syros D 9 Pauli XUM 10
Explicit prologus OHJ Explicit prologus sancti iheronimi *in marg. O*
EXPLICIT HIERONIMI PRESBITERI X Explicit praefacio Hieronimi pres-
biteri M EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO T *om. ω*

INCIPIVNT EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD PAVLVM
ET PAVLI AD SENECA M <QVAE VOCANTVR>

I. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

Credo tibi, Paule, nuntiatum quod heri cum Lucilio nostro de apocryphis et aliis rebus habuerimus. Erant enim quidam disciplinarum tuarum comites mecum. Nam in

Titulum ante prologum exhibent QV om. XLUNK EPISTOLAE SENECAE AD APOSTOLVM PAVLVM ET PAVLI AD EVNDEM QVAS SIBI PROPTER FAMILIARITATEM (FAMILIARITEM S) MVTVAM TRANSMISERVNT; EXCERPTAE DE LIBRIS EIVSDEM (EIVSDEDEM S) SENECAE (SÆNECAE S) BAS EPISTOLAE PAVLI ET SENECAE INTER SE PROPTER FAMILIARI R Incipiunt epistolae senecae ad paulum apostolum, paulique similiter ad eundem, quas sibi causa familiaritatis transmiserunt, excerptae de libris eiusdem senecae E INCIPIVNT EPISTOLAE AD SANCTVM PAVLVM TRANSMISSAE A SENECA W Incipiunt epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam GQ SENECAE ET PAVLI EPISTOLARIS COLLOCVCIO V INCIPIVNT EPISTOLAE PAVLI AD SENCAM (corr.) ET SENECE AD PVLVM (sic) C Incipiunt epistolae senatoris Senece ad Paulum apostolum et Pauli ad Senecam D SEQVVNTVR EPISTOLAE SENECAE Ad paulum apostolum ET pauli Ad SENECA M Z INCIPIVNT EPISTOLAE SENECE AD PAVLVM APOSTOLVM O Incipiunt epistolae illustris uiri Senecae magistri Neronis ad Paulum apostolum et ad Senecam Pauli in marg. ante prologum M Epistula ad sanctum Paulum transmissa a Seneca post prologum MT Incipiunt epistolae Lucii Annei Senece Cordubensis philosophi ad Paulo (sic) apostolum et Pauli apostoli ad eundem P Incipiunt epistolae ad sanctum Paulum a Seneca transmissae (transmisae a Seneca J) HJ

I. Ep. 1 om. L, Epp. 1—12,9 uidearis om. Y, Epp. in P hoc ordine scriptae sunt: 1, 7, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 10, 12, 3, 4, 9 || SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM om. BARSEWXF || PAVLO SALVTEM om. Q || SALVTEM om. G || Seneca]. Lucius Anneus Seneca (sic) P || Seneca ad Paulum add. N 2 ras. 1 litt. post Paule O || mi post Paule add. Z⁵ || nuntiatum quod heri] nurtia testis aderit qui id P (qui id in quod? corr. P²) || fuisse post nuntiatum add. VU fore add. Z⁵ esse add. F?J || quid WGUMT || hori D heri in marg. suppl. U² || de te post heri add. aNJ et F teste Kr, del. D || cum supra suppl. U² || Lucilio scripsi cum DH¹K¹ lucullo dC locullo V lucillo Z⁵ lucio PH lucinio NK 3 apogryphis BR apocryfis A apogryphis S apocryphis E apochrysi C apocrisi D apocrisis Z apocrisi O apocripis TJ apochrisi K || altis P 3 aliis-4 tuarum] aliarum T 3 sermonem post rebus add. Z⁵Kr || habuimus D habuerim P || erant] t in ras. R || enim om. V supra suppl. W 4 quidam om. RP || tuarum supra suppl. Z² || comitis corr. D² || ras. 1 litt. post comites M || tecum corr. Z²

- 5 hortos Sallustianos secesseram, quo loco occasione
nostri alio tendentes hi de quibus dixi visis nobis adiuncti
sunt. Certe quod tui praesentiam optavimus, et hoc scias
volo: libello tuo lecto, id est de plurimis aliquas litteras
10 mira exhortatione vitam moralem continentes, usque
refecti sumus. Quos sensus non puto ex te dictos, sed per
te, certe aliquando ex te et per te. Tanta enim maiestas
earum est rerum tantaque generositate clarent, ut vix
suffecturas putem aetates hominum quae his institui
15 perficique possint. Bene te valere, frater, cupio.

5 ortos AQCMT hortis P || salustia nos R sallustianos X sallustians P salustianos ω || recesseram P || loci ZβKr || et ante occasione add. N || occasione EU occasiones V occansione X 6 nostra GZβN || his Cβ hii AQDPHJ || enim post hi add. BARS || de/de corr. R || diximus GN || visis nobis om. N || visis] uis corr. R² uasis G s² subp. Z om. P 7 quod] -que D quo K || praesentia C || optamus corr. S² obtauimus EG (corr. E) optauinus X obtauarimus P || et hoc scias] scire te C || hec N 7/8 scias. Volo corr. Z² 8 libro P || id est] et C || de] o D || verba de plurimis glossam esse putavit Kr || pluris R plurimis ex pluribus ex pruribus U¹ pluribus MTP || aliquas] ad quosdam δ(praeter W), om. Kr || aliquibus litteris CDHJ || lideras E literas W litteris G literis F 9 ad om. C || aliquas corr. O || aliquas ciuitates V || aliquam del., post civitatem scr. A || prouintiae BARSEGCZXOUTK 10 mirae exhortationis XFKr miram exortationem P || exortatione RSWOMTK exortacione V || mortalem BARSVCDM immortalem Q || continentes om. N continens C continentem P || habunde ante usque add. C || usquequaque δPH usque adeo V 11 sed] et P 12 uel post certe del. M et add. T || aliquanto P || est ante enim add. N || enim supra suppl. D² || magestas M 12/13 earum rerum est maiestas C 13 earum] et cum A eorum P || est ante maiestas K || rerum est δVDF?NKR || rerum tantaque om. P || -que om. CN || generaositate P || clarent] clarente P callens CZβNJ pollens D || ut] ex P || uis E 14 suffectura corr. U² || putes corr. A potem corr. U² || et ante aetates add. D || aetatem corr. A || hominum etates N || ominum P || quae his scripsi ex quehis P quibus δβ (praeter U) HK quibus his VDZUNJKr quibus haec C || institui corr. D instituis corr. O instituit ex institui? U³ || ut post institui add. DXUHJKr 15 perficique] non dicam perfici CDHJ || -que in -q; corr. B² || possunt SMT posent K posint K¹ possint K² || ualere te DUP VALETE in TE VALERE corr. T || te supra suppl. R || valere] uare R || frater om. δPN || cupio frater CDX || cupio ante ualere Q || cupio] obit P || Vale post cupio add. Zβ(praeter UM) Valde add. D

II. ANNAEO SENECAE PAVLVS SALVTEM.

Litteras tuas hilaris heri accepi, ad quas rescribere statim potui, si praesentiam iuvenis quem ad te eram missurus habuissem. Scis enim quando et per quem et quo tempore et cui quid dari committique debeat. Rogo ergo non putes neglectum, dum personae qualitatem respicio. Sed quod litteris meis vos bene acceptos alicubi scribis, felicem me arbitror tanti viri iudicio. Nec enim hoc diceres, censor sophista magister tanti principis etiam omnium, nisi quia vere dicis. Opto te diu bene valere.

III. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

Quaedam volumina ordinavi et divisionibus suis

II. ANNAEO-SALVTEM *om.* L || INCIPIT LVCIO (LVCIO *om.* X) ANNAEO SENECAE PAVLVS (Paulus *in textu* X) XF || LVTIO *ante* ANNAEO *add.* P || Annio EN (*corr.* E), *om.* U || SENAEC (ras. 1 *litt.* ante C) R SENECA P || PALVS (ANNAEO SENECAE *om.*) W || Paulus Senecae (ANNAEO *om.*) GCOK || SALVTEM *om.* WGVZ^βHJP 2 *hic incipit* L || PAVLVS *ante* Litteras *add.* O || Literas EWF *semper* || hilaris *om.* δP, *sed post* heri *habet* W || heri *om.* C eri P || rescribere Q tibi respondere G rescribere M 3 statim *om.* δ (*praeter* W) || potuit *corr.* D potuissim F?J?Kr || presentem iuvenem P || quam D || te] uos W || eram] fueram P 3/4 missurus eram WCDN 4 habuissem *post* iuvenis W || Sis H || quando] quod G || quem] quam D 5 et *om.* D || et *post* cui *add.* δ (*praeter* G) || dari *om.* δ || comittique P || -que *om.* δ -q; *ex* -que L² quid MT || debeat committique *corr.* V || enim *ante* ergo *add.* ZβNJ? *subp.* L² enim *ex* enom X || ergo] enim D ego N 6 non] ne GVK || putes? *subp.* L² potes *corr.* Q || ras. 1 *litt.* *post* putes T || te *ante* neglectum *add.* GJ || neglectum QO neglectum P neglectum *corr.* K¹ || persona equalitatem *corr.* L² 7/8 Sed-iudicio *om.* V 7 quod] qm (= quoniam?) H || litteras *corr.* S¹ literis *corr.* W² || litteras meas bene a uobis acceptas K || bene uos δ (bene *ex* bone B) (bene tuos A) || acceptos *bis* scr., *corr.* M || alicubi *om.* P alicui N || scribitis DL² scripsistis P 8 arbritror M || tanti] casti P || iudicio] o *subp.* L² || neque WKr n (= non) D non H || hoc *om.* a (*praeter* V) MT || dicere res B dicere ARSEW (*ex* diceres? W) dicereris QVCDZH dicereris G diceris J 9 recensor ARSEW (*ex* recensor A) (recensor R²) || sophysta BAZ sofista P || tanti magister C || etiam] et δV et iam F?J? et *edd.* omnes, *om.* CDZ (*et supra suppl.* Z²) || omnium *om.* C 10 uera E || diceris GQVCDZ²HJ || Obto GMTP oro C || bene diu H || diu *om.* δMTP || bene *om.* CDN || uotis *post* ualere *add.* GQ

III. Epp. 3—6 *post* 14 collocavit R || Lutius Anneus *ante* Seneca *add.* P Annaeus *add.* Q || PAVLO SALVTEM *om.* W || PAVLVS *corr.* U² || SALVTEM *om.* GC 2 Q]uedam Z Quadam *corr.* R² || suis *om.* V *supra suppl.* M

statum eis dedi. Ea quoque Caesari legere sum destinatus.
 Si modo fors prospere annuerit, ut novas aures adferat,
 5 eris forsitan et tu praesens; sin, alias reddam tibi diem,
 ut hoc opus invicem inspiciamus. Et possem non prius
 edere ei eam scripturam, nisi prius tecum conferrem, si
 modo impune hoc fieri potuisset, hoc ut scires, non te
 praeteriri. Vale Paule carissime.

IV. ANNAEO SENECAE PAVLVS SALVTEM.

Quotienscumque litteras tuas audio, praesentiam tui
 cogito nec aliud existimo quam omni tempore te nobiscum

3 eis statum R || eis] ei G || dedi eis C || eis de- *hic desinit* V || dedit
corr. Q || cesari quoque C || legere *in marg. suppl.* W || sum destinatus
 legere C || destinatus sum N || distinatus BRE 4 et ante Si *add.* OK ||
 modo] me P || fors] fros X sors GQDZβHJ fors *ex* f??s P || prospera
 aN || annuerit *corr.* A annuer& L aiuerit P adiuerit P² || afferat
 BAR²SE¹WGQDZOL²MTHK aiferat E offerat C adfer& *corr.* U¹ inueniam
 P 5 eris *om.*, *spatio relicto* P || forsan DZXOLK forte T || praesens]
 preues P prebes P² || sin] illi P olli P² || alia *corr.* R² || *distinctionem*
post alias habent WGDZXOTK 6 ho *corr.* R² || inscipiamus *corr.* O²
 aspiciamus *corr.* A¹ respiciamus C inspitiamus P || possim EW²OHK ||
 non possem N || prius *om.* N 7 edere *bis scr.* H || edere ei eam] ei hanc
 edere a (ei hanc *om.* D) eam edere N || ei *supra suppl.* M || eam] quam
 P² hanc K || eam scripturam] conscripturam O i hanc 'scripturam' eam
 (i hanc *subp.*) H || tecum prius LP || prius *om.* aN *supra suppl.* U² ||
 eam *ante* tecum *add.* UMT || tecum] te C te *corr.* Z || conferam ZβNHK
 (conferam *corr.* L²) conferem Q conferre D 8 hoc impune C || impune
 EDZFLUMPHK || fieri *om.* δ(*praeter* W) || posset N possit i potuisset H
 || hoc² *om.* WXOLHKKr 8/9 hoc ut-carissime *om.* D 8 ut *om.* T || scires]
 scias i res H || te non AJ || te *om.* NH 9 praeterire *corr.* J praeterii aR¹N
 (praeteriri E praeterit W) praeteri L (*corr.* L²) praeterit U praeteriit MT
 praeteriui P p̄tirē K || Vale Paule carissime *om.* WO || Paule carissime *om.*
 CU || Paule *del. et post* carissime *add.* M || frater *post* Paule *add.* N ||
 amice *post* carissime *add.* δ frontes missus *add.* P

IV. ANNAEO-SALVTEM *om.* F || INCIPIT *ante* ANNAEO *add.* X ||
 ANNAEO *om.* WGCOK Ann *et ras.* Q || SENECAE *om.* W Senacae M
 || Paulus Seneca C Paulus Senece GO PALVS W || SALVTEM *om.* WGC ||
 Lutus Anneus Seneca Paulo salutem P 2 Quotienscumque ZF Quoties-
 cumque ACUMT (*corr.* T) || litteras EW (*corr.* E) || tuas *om.* D || *ras.* 2 *litt.*
post audio R || tuam δZP (*in lac. vel del.* W) 3 aliut P || existimo J
 extimo P aestimo ω || omni *om.* L || *ras.* 1-2 *litt. post* tempore H 3/4
 nobiscum esse te U 3 te *supra suppl.* M || uobiscum L²

esse. Cum primum itaque venire coeperis, invicem nos et de proximo videbimus. Bene te valere opto.

5

V. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

Nimio tuo secessu angimur. Quid est? Quae te res remotum faciunt? Si indignatio dominae, quod a ritu et secta veteri recesseris et aliorum converteris, erit postulandi locus, ut ratione factum non levitate hoc existimet. Bene *vale*.

5

VI. SENECAE ET LVCILIO PAVLVS SALVTEM.

De his quae mihi scripsistis non licet arundine et

IV 4/5: II Ioh. 13; III Ioh. 14.

V 5: II Cor. 1, 17.

VI 2/3: II Ioh. 13; III Ioh. 13.

4 Cum] Quam MT || primum itaque] igitur D || venire] uoiire *corr.* P² || caeperis B ceperis FU (*corr.* F) 4/5 et-videbimus] uidere ualebimus U 4 et om. P 5 Bene-opto] *om.* G Vale C || opto ualere te J || ualere te BAQTK || ualere ante te *suppl.* R || te *om.* P || ualere] ualo *corr.* P² || obto MTP cupio δ (*praeter* G) N

V. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM *om.* F || PAVLO SALVTEM *om.* W || SALVTEM *om.* G || Lutius ante Seneca *add.* P Annaeus *add.* Q || SENAECIAE U SENAECIA U² || PAVLVS *corr.* U² Paulu *corr.* P Paulo H 2 Nimium SEWL²HJ || secessu tuo CD || successu RFM suecessu *corr.* W se- *ex* ? L² || angimur secessu OHJK || Quid est] Quidem UP (*corr.* U) || nel ante quae *add.* OKKr || Quae] quo P || te *om.* A, post res DH (rex *corr.* H) 2/3 remotum res CP 3 emotum W remoratum Zβ (rememoratum MT) HJK || faciunt U || *ras.* 5—6 *litt.* post faciunt O || *ras.* 4 *litt.* post Si R || est ante dominae *add.* H || dominae *om.* G domini ZOMTNK || est post dominae *add.* C || quod a *ex* ? L² || a *om.* F 4 veteri *om.* G ueteris *corr.* C tui P || aliorum] aliorum EH ad aliorum C alios rursum βK¹ (alios sursum K) || ad ante alios *add.* U || conuersus sis δCZ²HJ || erat *corr.* B 4/5 postulanti *corr.* T 5 ratione] traditione βK || facta δ (*praeter* G) factum W¹ || hec Q || existimetur GFH &is tim&ur X existimes W²Z² aestimet CU 6 Bene vale *scripsi* Bene ualeas δ(Valeas bene G) Vale CMT Bene ualere P Vale Paule Kme K *om.* ω

VI. SENECAE-SALVTEM *om.* WGCF (Paulus W Paulus Seneca GC) || Annaeo ante Senecae *add.* Q || AENICE T || ET LVCILIO *om.* OP || LVCVLLO δ(*ex* LVCVLO A¹) lucilio ZH (*ex* lucio H) lucillo ω || Lutio Seneca Paulus P 2 D]e ZF || his] is *corr.* O² || quae] quibus uel quae OK quibusque LU quibus MTP unus N || scripsistis L scripsisti P || arundine *corr.* T² harundine BARSEWG²DMP (*corr.* M) || et] aut W

- atramento eloqui, quarum altera res notat et designat
aliquid, altera evidenter ostendit, praecipue cum sciam
5 inter vos esse, hoc est apud vos et in vobis, qui me
intellegant. Honor omnibus habendus est, tanto magis
quanto indignandi occasionem captant. Quibus si patien-
tiam demus, omni modo eos et quaqua parte vincemus,
si modo hi sunt qui poenitentiam sui gerant. Bene valete.

VII. ANNAEVS SENECA PAVLO ET THEOPHILO SALVTEM.

Profiteor bene me acceptum lectione litterarum
tuarum quas Galatis Corinthiis Achaeis misisti, et ita

9: Act. 17, 30; 26, 20.

3 atramento O || loqui δ || quorum W || altera] -ra del. B || res altera
C || res *supra* suppl. H || et designat] edesignat corr. M || designat RS (corr.
R²) 4 aliquid om. δCD aquit corr. M || evidenter] cui detur C || pr&ipue P
praecepue corr. K¹ || sciam] -am in ras. 3—4 litt. R² iam D 5 esse inter
uos δP || vos¹ nos D || "hoc-vobis glossam sapiunt" Kr || quantus post
est add. OK || est *supra* suppl. WP || apud] capti G aput WP || vos² om. U
|| quod D 6 intelligunt OK || habenda corr. R² || et ante tanto add. F 7
magis post quanto add. C || indignanti corr. A indignati P || occasione H ||
capiant δC capiunt D captā K 7/8 si patientiam WCDXFLUPNHJ (si *supra*
ras. H) (patientiam P) sapientiam OMTK si sapientiam δZ (*praeter* W)
(patientiam Z⁴) 8 damus G || omni om. T || omni modo] omnino J || eos
om. C || et om. HJ ex AWCDFU¹ (et U) et ex E || quaque BARSED⁴U
utraqe W quacumque CD || parce X arte G || vincimus L uindicemus MT 9
si modo bis scr. H || hi in marg. suppl. rubr. H hi ex? L² his MT hii
AQDP || sint XOLUHN om. MT sunt ω(FJ ex silentio) || sui gerant]
suggerant MT || gerunt FJP (corr. F) agant H || Bene om. WCN || ualeatis
δ(Valeas R vi W) uale COL (uel ualete add. O²) Vi M ualere te opto U
ualente corr. P ualere te H Val N || ān Señ post ualeatis add. et del. A

VII. ANNAEVS-SALVTEM om. F || ANNEO BAR ANN S Annius J
om. OUNK || SENECA BR (corr. R²) SEN S || ET]E corr. R² om. OUMTK
|| Theophilo D theophlo (y *infra* add.) M om. OUK in marg. suppl. O² ||
Seneca Paulo (rel. om.) GC Paulus Senecae salutem O Paulo et Theophilo
Seneca W PHILO SALVTEM LVCIVS ANNEVS SENECA PAVLO ET THEO
P 2 P]rofitetur Z profiteur post tuarum P || me bene AWJ || me om. R ||
lectionem XFP || litterarum lectione G 2/3 tuarum litterarum C 3 quos
P || Galathis WGQCD²ZOUMHJK gala P || chorintheis B corintheis R
chorinteis S corinthiis WCH corintiis G corinthis U chorintiis P et post
Corinthiis add. QK || Achaeis δUT achais M ac athenis Z ageis N acciis P
achaeis i achileis (i a. del.) H || achemisisti corr. L² || misti P || et] ut
MT || et ita om. spatio relicto D in marg. suppl. D³ 3/4 et-vivamus om. C

invicem vivamus, ut etiam cum horrore divino eas exhibes. Spiritus enim sanctus in te et super excelsos sublimi ore 5
satis venerabiles sensus exprimit. Vellem itaque, cum res
eximias proferas, ut maiestati earum cultus sermonis non
desit. Et ne quid tibi, frater, subripiam aut conscientiae
meae debeam, confiteor Augustum sensibus tuis motum.
Cui perlecto virtutis in te exordio, ista vox fuit: mirari 10
eum posse ut qui non legitime imbutus sit taliter sentiat.
Cui ego respondi solere deos ore innocentium effari, haut
eorum qui praevaricare doctrina sua quid possint. Et dato

4 vivamus *om.* D uiuimus GH || ut] quomodo P || horrore *in ras.* T honore
L²P || diuino *supra suppl.* R² || eas *ante* cum MT esse XF ex se O *om.* C
|| exhibes WXF exhibis (*ras. 1 litt. ante s*) O exhibis L exhibes U exhibuisti M
exhibuisti T exirem BARSEZ²N exigerem CDZ erigere J suscepimus H
susceperimus G exceperim Q exiui P audirem K 5 Sanctus enim spiritus
C || Spēs K || sanctus] sps *corr.* B² || qui *post* sanctus *add.* H || in te *om.*
MT || et super FLMT² (*super in ras.* T) supra δ (*praeter* W) CDN exuperat
Z et supera X et supra WOUHJK || i supra excelsos sublimior *add.* Z² ||
te *ante* excelsos *add.* L²MT || textcellos W te excelsus W² excellos T excel-
sior G || sublimi ore *coni.* Westerburg sublimior δCDN subliores F subli-
mior est H sublimior es J sublimiorum et P sullimiores K sublimiores ω 6
uerabiles W uenerabilis P || sensus *ex ?* L² sensus P || Velle C 6/7 cum-
proferas] cum res et ceteras XOLU cum res esset et ceteras MT cures et
ceteras F cures et cetera mittas P 6 rex *corr.* H 7 proferas eximias C ||
perferas N || et ceteras ut *subp.* L² || ut] tum δ || magestati EM || eorum
GD || sermonum C 8 desint UMT || ne *supra* H || quo G || frater tibi D ||
frater *om.* UK || subripam X subrepam L²P sur??pam L || aut] et G aud
corr. L² 9 meae *om.* P || Augustum] autem P || permotum CDHJ 10 cuius P
cuius P² || lecto Cβ perfectio Q || unice *ante* uirtutis *add.* K || in te *om.*
αNJ || exordia O exor P || ista] sita L tuis P || fuit uox *corr.* X || mutari C
11 non *post* imbutus CDHJ || non legitime] *cum his verbis desinit* N || legi-
timate] legitime R legi meae β (*meae legi cum notis permutationis* M) lege
ame G || inbutus BRSEZLUP || sis P || sentias P 12 Cum BARSG Tum EWQ
|| ego *om.* K ergo ZP || solerere *corr.* L || solere-innocentium] dminocentium
solere (*ore om.*) P || innocentium ore D || affari WU || haud ARSEHJ aut
CZβPK (*corr.* Z²) 13 deorum *corr.* Z || preuaricari REWXP (*corr.* X)
predicari D || preuaricare]care H (*care del et e² in i corr.* H¹) || ordinare
post preuaricare *add.* L²U (*ex ?* L²) preuaricare uel ordinare (ordiare
M) MT || doctrina sua *in marg. suppl.* U² || doctrinam suam C || sua *om.*
W || quid] quidem D non C quid non K || possunt CFJ (*corr.* F) possit EP
(*corr.* E) posint D

- ei exemplo Vatieni hominis rusticuli, cui viri duo
 15 adparuerunt in agro Reatino, qui postea Castor et Pollux
 sunt nominati, satis instructus videtur. Valetē.

VIII. SENECAE PAVLVVS SALVTEM.

- Licet non ignorem Caesarem nostrum rerum admiran-
 darum, si quando deficiet, amatorem esse, permittit tamen
 se non laedi, sed admoneri. Puto enim te graviter fecisse,
 5 quod ei in notitiam perferre voluisti quod ritui et
 disciplinae eius sit contrarium. Cum enim ille gentium
 deos colat, quid tibi visum sit ut hoc scire eum velles
 non video, nisi nimio amore meo facere te hoc existimo.

VII 14: Cic., *De Nat. Deor.* II 2, 6; III 5, 11; Val. Max., I 8, 1; Plut.,
Aem. Paul. 24, 3; Lact. *Inst. Div.* II 7, 10.

14 ei om. P || exemplo ei CD || exsemplo E || Vatini δ(uatim
 BA uatum R) uatis A¹K uatis enim OHJ uigiendi P || Vatieni homi-
 nis] hominis uaticani CD || rusticoli F rustici δP || cui] cur M cui cum
 EWQUHJ || duo uiri SECJ 15 apparuerunt P solus, om. W apparuissent
 ω(t suppl. E)(aparuisent M) || in-Reatino om. C || retiano SL reatipo G
 || qui ex ? L² quo corr. Z² || castus P || pollux corr. L polux H 16 sunt
 om. WC || sati corr. E² || uideatur XL "videbatur forsā" Kr || Valetē
 scripsi cum Q Vt M om. WG Vale senece E Bene te ualere opto U Bene
 ualere frater obto P Vale ω

VIII. SENECAE PAVLVVS SALVTEM om. F || Lutio ante Senecae add.
 P Anneo add. Q || Paulus Seneca salutem E Paulus Seneca WGC Seneca
 Paulo salutem DO 2 L]icet F Liceat P || non supra suppl. W || ignoremus
 a || Caesarem] e¹ in ras. S caesare M || Caesarem nostrum om. C ||
 nostrum] non aP nostrum non H nostrarum Kr (J ex silentio) 2/3 ammiran-
 darum BRCZL (corr. L²) 3 deficient DP deficiat C 3/4 esse-se om. C 3
 esse om. D || permittes WβK permittentes T permittet J permi|tit corr. H
 || tamet AF 4 se P solus, om. RDT, te ω (post laedi L) (supra suppl.
 R²T²) || laedis X || ammoneri ARGQCZL (corr. L²) amoneri O ammoniri
 corr. P² || Puto] Pu corr. W Poto corr. U² || "te "enim M || te om. D ||
 gratanter P || fecissem G fecesse corr. U¹ 5 ei om. C || in notitiam] innocen-
 tiam GQCU (corr. U) || proferre C ferre P perferri BARSDZ || uoluisssem G
 || quid P || ritu corr. H 5/6 ritui et disciplinae] et disciplinae et ritui C 6
 contrarium sit δ || ille enim ZXFOL || ille supra suppl. H 6/7 deos gentium
 CK 7 calat corr. M || sit] est corr. M || ut om. P || eum scire δC || eum
 velles] cūmelles P || uellis B uellis ASEW uellis (l¹ subp.) R 8 minio corr. G
 nimium R || mei K || hoc facere te δP (hoc te facere W) || extimo (s
 supra add.) M existimasti P

Rogo de futuro ne id agas. Cavendum est enim ne, dum me diligis, offensum dominae facias, cuius quidem offensa 10 neque oberit, si perseveraverit, neque, si non sit, proderit; si est regina, non indignabitur, si mulier est, offendetur. Bene vale.

IX. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

Scio te non tam tui causa commotum litteris quas ad te de editione epistolarum mearum Caesari feci quam natura rerum, quae ita mentes hominum ab omnibus artibus et moribus rectis revocat, ut non hodie admirer, 5 quippe ut *is* qui multis documentis hoc iam notissimum

9 Rogo] Rogito te C || ne id agas] meidigas P || id *ex* ? L² || agas] facias H || enim *om.* O || 10 offensum] offensum DHJK offensum corr. Z² || *ras.* 3 *litt.* post offensum Z || dominae] dominicae G tibi dominum W domini C²MT dominum Z¹ || omnino post dominae *add.* O || dominae facias] dm efficias P || equidem D || offensa] offensa corr. E offensio U || 11 oberit *supra ras.* L || perseverit RS (corr. R²) perseveraverit E perseveraverit W perseuer& G perseueraberit P perseveravit H perseveraverit corr. K² || neque²-proderit *om.* P || neque²] nec C || si²] sit corr. Z || si²-proderit] proderit si desierit. Nam C || proderit sit *cum notis permutationis* H || 12 regina-offendetur *om.* A || *ras.* 1—2 *litt.* post non K || indignatur LP (corr. L²) || mulieri G || est² *om.* EC (suppl. E²) non G || offenditur Zβ (corr. ZL²) || 13 Bene *om.* UK || Bene vale *om.* WG || ualere P || oberit et proderit *inter se permutavit*, fit *pro sit scr.*, et *verba* si est regina-offendetur *in calce Ep. 5 collocavit* Kr

IX. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM *om.* XF Senca (*sic*) Paulo *in marg.* C Paulus Senecae salutem O || Lutius Anneus ante Seneca *add.* P Annaeus *add.* Q || SALVTEM *om.* WGC || 2 Scito Aβ (*ras.* 1 *litt.* post scito A) (corr. L²) S[ci]to F || Scio te] Scitoto X || tam] tantum P || te post tam *add.* G || tam tui] tantum corr. A¹ || causas corr. S || commentum L comonitum P || 3 a *ex* ad U || edicione P || editione epistolarum] epistolarum institutione G || mearum P solus tuarum ω || Caesari *om.* C ci sari corr. P² || fecerim C || quam] satisfacisti P || 4 natura rerum] naturarum U || nature P || *ras.* fere 6 *litt.* post natura G || qua eita corr. L² || ida corr. X || omnium corr. M || 4/6 ab-multis suppl. (ut *is om.*) Z² || 4 omnibus] omni huius H || 5 actibus K et *con.* Kr || & P hec P² || moribus] manibus X || rectis *om.* WK intellect?s P inlectas P² || uocat O reuocit K reuocant J || *ras.* 2—3 *litt.* (*sic* ?) ante ut M || hodie *om.* P odie U || ammirer corr. L² || 6 ait post quippe *del.* O || ut *is scripsi cum* K, *in marg. coniecerat* L² *om.* a ut XF ut his OLUMTHJ de uobis P || qui] cum a D || hoc *supra suppl.* D² || iam *om.* F? tam UMT || notissimum iam CD

habeam. Igitur nove agamus, et si quid facile in praeteritum factum est, veniam inrogabis. Misi tibi librum de verborum copia. Vale Paule carissime.

X. SENECAE PAVLVS SALVTEM.

Quotienscumque tibi scribo et nomen meum subsecundo, gravem sectae meae et incongruentem rem facio. Debeo enim, ut saepe professus sum, cum omnibus omnia
5 esse et id observare in tuam personam quod lex Romana honori senatus concessit, perlecta epistola ultimum locum eligere, ne cum aporia et dedecore cupiam efficere quod mei arbitrii fuerit. Vale devotissime magister. Data V Kal. Iul. Nerone III et Messala consulibus.

X 4: I Cor. 9, 22; 10, 33; 15, 28.

7 Iam ante igitur add. P || nouae AXF non Q nave coni. Kr. || noua eagamus corr. L² || agā C negamus Q agatur P || et] ut DZOLUHJK (corr. Z²) || facile ante factum MT || im O 7/8 imperitum corr. M || peteritum corr. T tantum D || post preteri 5 litt. (-torum vel eorum ?) del. et -tum add. P² 8 factum in marg. suppl. F² om. Kr gestum C || praerogabis δDZ² erogabis C rogabis Z inrogauis corr. P² 9 uerborum ex ? L² || Vale Paule carissime om. U || Paule carissime om. WGD || Explicit add. G

X. Epp. 10—14 om. G || SENECAE PAVLVS SALVTEM om. XFO || Lutio Anneo ante Senecae add. P Anneo add. Q || PAVLVS] Paulo E || Paulus Seneca (salutem om.) WC 2 Quotien cumque R Quotiescumque CUT (corr. T) || et] nec Kr, coni. Wachsmuth || tibi ante subsecundo add. QβHJK & add. C 2/3 subsecundo corr. H 1 subscribo add. C² 3 et ante sectae QZβHJ || mee secte D || et] -que post incongruentem CD || incongruam Z incūgruentem O incognicione (rem. del.) P² || rex corr. X 4 sicut MT || sepe U || professussum corr. L² profer sussum P || cum] com corr. E secum P² om. Kr 5 et supra suppl. M || obseruent P² || tua persona αKKr et F ex silentio || quod supra suppl. M quo corr. P² || romano E romanam corr. O 6 honor E perfecta coni. Kr 7 elige MT || nec WD et coni. Kr et non K || aporia] rubore δR² (robore AR) rubore aporia CD aporiora corr. H || et] et T || cupiam culpam W quippem K quippiam K¹ cuiuspian coni. Kr 8 mea F || aruitrii corr. P² arbi] arbitrii (arbi¹ del.) H || Vale-magister om. δ(praeter Q) || DOCTISSIME X deuote LUMT dñe P || magister om. J 8/9 Data-consulibus om. BARSEDFOUMK 8 Dat. H δδ W || V om. T VI P 9 Iul.] Maias P māi P² || Nerone-consulibus om. WP || III scripsi, om. H quater Q IIII ω || massala Q messa T || consule LT consul ZX

XI. (XII.) SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

Ave mi Paule carissime. Putasne me haut contristari
 et non luctuosum esse quod de innocentia vestra subinde
 supplicium sumatur? Dehinc quod tam duros tamque
 obnoxios vos reatui omnis populus iudicet, putans a vobis
 effici quicquid in urbe contrarium fit? Sed feramus aequo
 animo et utamur foro quod sors concessit, donec invicta
 felicitas finem malis imponat. Tulit et priscorum aetas
 Macedonem, Philippi filium, Cyros Darium Dionysium,
 nostra quoque Gaium Caesarem, quibus quicquid libuit
 licuit. Incendium urbs Romana manifeste saepe unde
 patiatur constat. Sed si effari humilitas humana potuisset
 quid causae sit et impune in his tenebris loqui liceret,

XI 10/11: Spart., *Ant. Car.* 10, 2.

XI. *Ep.* 12 ante 11 collocaverunt *edd. omnes praeter Erasmus, codd. nulli* || SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM *om.* XFOH || LVTIVS ANECVS ante Seneca *add.* P Annaeus *add.* Q || SALVTEM *om.* WC 2 Aaue Z Haue XFOU Habe MTP Que H || Aue mi *ex* ? L² || mi] mihi XFOUT (*corr.* F) michi M || carissime B carisime R || haut *om.* aP non Q aut UMT haud OLHK || contristare X 3 non] minus P || nostra Q || subinde *om.* D 4 subplicium P supplicia δCDHJ || sumuntur δCDHJ (*sumantur SEW*) sumantur *corr.* Z² || Dein *corr.* M Deinc *corr.* T || tan O || dure δ (*praeter W*) K || tamquam δ (*praeter W*) XK 5 vos *om.* RED (*supra suppl. R²*) nos Q || populi W || iudices Q uidelicet H || putas *corr.* P² || vobis] nobis QO 6 quic *corr.* O² quidquid LP (*corr. L²*) quicquit M quod K || in urbe] urbi MT || contrarium] noxium C || sit WDMH 7 furo P fortiter eo *coni. Kr* || quo δCD quoquo P || sos *corr.* P fors C || concensit M || inuita R infausta C 8 felicas R || malis *ex* ? L² *om.* P || imponat malis W || inponat REZLUM apponat P || et *om.* D || pricorum *corr.* H prisca CD 9 alexandrum ante macedonem *add.* C || macedonum E machedonem ZXOLMT || filippi ZXI phylippi FM || cyros P solus, et post ω || et post Darium *add.* δK || dionysium GDHJ dyonysium RE donisium *corr.* P dionysium ω 10 quoque nostra OHJ || nostrum P || *ras. 1 litt. post nostra* O || Gaium] G. AREL || quicquid] quoque F quidquid *corr.* L²P² quicquit M || libuit *supra ras.* D² 11 Incendium *ex* ? L² || urbs *ex* urbis ? K || urbis roma P || sep *corr.* E 11/12 unde patiatur ante urbs (*saepe om.*) C || manifeste post patiatur D 12 manifestum est ante constat *add.* W || affari U || humilita *corr.* M 13 quidquid P || causa P || sit] si P || impune BREZLMPK (*corr. L²*) || et ante in *add.* R || in his] inis *corr.* E 13/14 in-omnia *om.* P

- iam omnes omnia viderent. Christiani et Iudaei quasi
 15 machinatores incendii — pro! — supplicio adfecti, quod
 fieri solet. Grassator iste quisquis est, cui voluptas
 carnificina est et mendacium velamentum, tempori suo de-
 stinatus est, et ut optimus quisque unum pro multis datum
 est caput, ita et hic devotus pro omnibus igni cremabitur.
 20 Centum triginta duae domus, insulae quattuor milia sex
 diebus arsere; septimus pausam dedit. Bene te valere,
 frater, opto. Data V Kal. Apr. Frugi et Basso consulibus.

XII. (XI.) SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

Ave mi Paule carissime. Si mihi nominique meo vir

18/19 Verg., *Aen.* V 815.

14 iam] tam ZXFOLU (corr. Z) tamen MT || homines post omnia
 add. Q || uiderunt Q || xpīni corr. E cristiani L || quasi] quis P 15
 mahinatores corr. E machinationes MT machinatoris HJ macinator (h
 add.) esse P || pro P solus, om. ω || subplitio P || affecti
 BARSEQCZL²MTHK affec W effecti P afflicti D || quod P solus, om.
 ω, ut conī. Kr 16 fieri] i W || solent δCDHJK² solē L, sed an —
 ex pr. m. in dubio est || Grās sator A Crassator WQMT grassatoriē P ||
 quisquis est iste F || quisque β (praeter F) 16/17 cui-est om. P 16
 cuius RSE²WC || uoluntas αH || et post uoluptas add. K 17 carnificia
 corr. B || est om. C || et medicina post est add. K || mendatium
 QDZOMTHK mendatu P || uelamen eorum P velamentum om. K || tempore
 QCDJ 18 destinatus BRE || et om. JKr || ut om. a (et in ut corr. W²) ||
 optimis E² optimus MP || ras 2 litt. ante quisque W || donatum Zβ (praeter
 U) HJK 18/19 datum est] dabitur CD 19 et ex ut T || hi C hoc corr. T
 || deuotis E² donatus K || omnibus] multis D || igne RSEWCF?U || crematur
 corr. R cremaretur corr. T cremauitur corr. P² 20 Centun F || duas P ||
 dmus corr. E domos ZP (corr. Z²) || quattuor milia δ IIII WZXOM et F
 teste Bücheler IIII LU quemadmodum P milia om. ω 21 arsere om. ZXFO
 (suppl. Z²) arserunt Q asserere corr. K² || plausam corr. R pausum P 21/22
 Bene-cupio] Bene uale WP 21 ualere te δ (ualete in ualere te corr. R) DK
 || te om. XMT 22 frater om. DUHJ fratrem MT || Data-consulibus om.
 ARFOUMK || Datum B Daſ SET δδ W || V] X CD (corr. D) || Aprilium
 BSE Aprilis TP māi P² || Frugi-consulibus om. P || Frugi δ Frigio DHJ
 Frigi ω || OSVL W cons Q consule X consul T

XII. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM om. XFO || ITEM ante SENECA
 add. ZLTHJ Lutius Anneus add. P Anneus add. Q || SALVTEM om. CZ 2
 Aaue Z Haue XOU Habe MTP Que H || Aue mi ex Abe h? L² || mi] mihi
 ZXOUP² michi MHK h T || paulo R || si]Si (si exp.) Q || nomineque E

tantus et a Deo dilectus omnibus modis, non dico fueris
 iunctus, sed necessario mixtus, *optime* actum erit de Seneca
 tuo. Cum sis igitur vertex et altissimorum omnium
 montium cacumen, non ergo vis laeter, si ita sim tibi
 proximus ut alter similis tui deputer? Haut itaque te
 indignum prima facie epistolarum nominandum censeas,
 ne temptare me quam laudare videaris, quippe cum scias
 te civem esse Romanum. Nam qui meus tuus apud te
 locus, qui tuus velim ut meus. Vale mi Paule carissime.
 Data X Kal. Apr. Aproniano et Capitone consulibus.

XII 6: Es. 2, 2; Mic. 4, 1; 10: Act. 22, 25/29; 10/11 Gal. 4, 12.

3 et om. D || a Deo dilectus *scripsi* adeo dilectus WKr ad? dilectus P
 dilectus (a Deo om.) βK ad id electus αHJP² || omnibus M || ras. 6 litt. post
 omnibus O || modi corr. P² 4 uinctus C?DOH functus P || sed] d *supra* M²
 || necesario R || missus P² ex? P || optime add. Haase || aptum LUMT (corr.
 L²) aptum actum XFO auctum CK || erit om. W || quod P² || senica corr. R²
 5 sis suppl. P² || uercex X uertix P uere corr. H || omium M 6 motium E
 gentium corr. F² uirtutum U³ sed *vix recte* || accumen D cacamen H || noh
 nec U³ et forsitan U || ergo om. αHJ || vis om. D is vel uis P his P² ||
 ita post vis add. H || lateri δZ (*praeter* Q) latere QCDZ²HJ leuiter T let
 corr. K || si om. HJ || ita post uis C ia corr. M om. D || tibi om. W 6/7
 proximus tibi CD 7 ut alter om. D || alteri Zβ (alter ex? L²) (corr. Z)
 alteri? et ras. 2—3 litt. K || similis tui] tuus CDHJ tui similis W tu Kr ||
 tui] tuis XFOL (corr. L²) || Haut itaque] Auditaque J || Haud BARSECL²HK
 aut βM¹P (haut M) ut corr. Z³ || itaque in ras. P 8 faci corr. U || ex ante
 epistolarum add. βK (subp. L²) (exemplarum F) || nominandas corr. K² 9
 ne tam CKr n̄ W nonne E || lac. vel ras. 1 litt. post ne U || temptare]
 ceptare MT temtare P || me] te U || me temptare δ (me om. E) || quam]
 quan *supra* add. P² || laudare P solus ledere D ludere ω || videaris] ui et
 lac. C || quippe cum] *hic incipit* Y || cum om. K 10 te om. L || ciuem esse
 te WZβ (*praeter* O) HJ ciuem te esse COK || ciuem Romanum esse E ||
 Romanum] ras. 3 litt. post ro- Y || Nam] Quam α (*praeter* WQ) || qui¹] quis
 corr. H || apud WMP 11 est ante locus add. D || tuus² om. δ (*praeter* Q)
 || velim ut] uelint ita U³ sed *vix recte* || ut om. P || meus] mus corr. P² ||
 Vale-carissime om. YU || VAL corr. E || mi-carissime om. W || mi] mihi
 BZXFO¹ MINE O michi T h LMHJ om. P || carissime om. HK 12 Data-
 consulibus om. BARSEW¹XFOYUMK (v. add. W) || date corr. P² Dē Q ||
 X om. PH || Apr.] om. in lac. C aplis T mal P || Aproniano-consulibus om.
 P || apromiano corr. T || cō Q consules corr. Z² CONSVLE T

XIII. SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM.

- Allegorice et aenigmatice multa a te usquequaque
opera colliduntur et ideo rerum tanta vis et muneris tibi
tributa non ornamento verborum, sed cultu quodam
5 decoranda est. Nec vereare, quod saepius dixisse retineo,
multos qui talia adfectent sensus corrumpere, rerum
virtutes evirare. Certum mihi velim concedas latinitati
morem gerere, honestis vocibus et speciem adhibere, ut
generosi muneris concessio digne a te possit expediri.
10 Bene vale. Data pridie Non. Iul. Lurcone et Sabino
consulibus.

XIII. Epp. 13—14 om. XP || SENECA PAVLO SALVTEM om. WCF0
|| Item ante Seneca add. ZLUHJ Anneus add. Q 2 Allegoricae et enigmatice
LYU || aenigmatice] enigmatice corr. D enigmatē 0 ras. 1 litt. ante t H ||
eo ante usquequaque add. a (praeter W) 2/3 opera usquequaque F dicta
usquequaque (opera om.) W 3 opera om. δCD supra suppl. Y || colliduntur
OYU concluduntur ex ? L² colliguntur T || numeris D 4 attributa D tributi
H || non supra suppl. U² || ornamenta BQZYUMT (corr. Q²Z²) ornamentis
CD || occultu corr. A 5 uerere Qβ et corr. E¹ uereri Z uertere U³ et for-
tasse U reuera OK || saepius] series U³ vix recte || dixisse 0 || dixisse
retineo] dixisse te teneo δZ (dixiss te teneo E) dixisse te retineo CDJ
dixiss&ineo M dixisset in eo T te dixisse retineo HL² (ex ? L) et U? dedisset
retineat U³ vix recte 6 affectent BARSEWZFL²MK affectant DH affectaent
T 6/7 corrumpere-virtutes om. C 6 rerum om. A 7 virtutes] merearis
U³ vix recte || euitare M et L²? ex ? L deuitare W euiscerare CDHJ || Ceterum
Kr || uelim WYU et FJ teste Kr, om. CDH uel id ex uelut? L² uelut ω ||
uelim post concedas exhibent codd. omnes praeter YU et F?J? || latinitate
corr. R²D latinitatem C latinatati corr. O² lanitati U 8 morem] meae rem
YU (corr. U²) || et uocibus W || et om. βHJK || speciem in marg. suppl.
U² spem C peciem corr. D 9 moneris corr. R² muneris corr. W² numeris D
|| concessi corr. Z² concessio OLUMT (corr. L²) || digne] bene C || a te] ante Y ate OLU ad te M¹T date M || possis Y || expedire corr. Q adhiberi
U i expediri in marg. U² epediri corr. M² 10 Bene om. M || Bene vale om.
WYU, post consulibus habet T || ualeas δ 10/11 Data-consulibus om.
ARFOMK 10 Dat BS Dada E δδW || pridie] priid U II WH || Nonas BSDH
|| Iulias BS Iulii DH 10/11 Lurcone-consulibus om. YU 10 Lurcone
scripsi LVCOLLE B locone CDZLH loene J lucone ω || sauino ZHJ sapino
T 11 cons Q consules corr. Z² consule T

XIV PAVLVS SENECAE SALVTEM.

Perpendenti tibi ea sunt revelata quae paucis divinitas concessit. Certus igitur ego in agro iam fertili semen fortissimum sero, non quidem materiam quae corrumpi videtur, sed verbum stabile Dei, derivamentum crescentis et manentis in aeternum. Quod prudentia tua adsecuta indeficiens fore debebit, ethnicorum Israhelitarumque observationes censere vitandas. Novum te auctorem feceris Christi Iesu, praeconiis ostendendo rethoricis inreprehensibilem sophiam, quam propemodum adeptus regi temporali eiusque domesticis atque fidis amicis insinuabis, quibus aspera et incapabilis erit persuasio, cum plerique illorum minime flectuntur insinuationibus tuis. Quibus vitale commodum sermo Dei instillatus novum hominem

XIV 5/6 *I Pet.* 1, 23; 1, 25; *Act.* 6, 7; 12, 24; 19, 20; *I Ioh.* 2, 14; 14/15 *Itala*, *I Cor.* 15, 42.

XIV. *Ep.* 14 *om.* C || PAVLVS SENECAE SALVTEM *om.* FO Anneo Senecae Paulus salutem (Anneo *om.* K) QK Seneca Paulo salutem MT || SENECAE SALVTEM *om.* W || SALTEM E 2 Perpendentibus LMT (*corr.* L²) Perpentibus (?) *corr.* U² Perpedem *corr.* Z³ 3 Certus igitur *om.* YU || iam *supra suppl.* EM || in *ante* fertili *add.* Y || fertilitatis MT || iam *post* semen *add.* W 4 materia MT materiem F? materiam *ex* ? L² || quae] quem *corr.* Q² || corripit A 5 uideatur δQ²D (uideantur Q) possit YU || sed uerbum *bis scr.* H || dei stabile K || *distinctionem ante Dei habent* AHK^r || diriuamentum ASQYUM (*dir- in ras.* S) diriuatum Z || crescentis *corr.* (*ras.* 1 *litt.* *ante n*) U¹ crescentis H 6 tua prudentia K || tua *supra suppl.* M || adsecuta *om.* DL 7 indeficienter D || forre H flore D florere D² || debebit *om.* β (debet F *ex silentio*) || ethicorum RT (*corr.* T¹) ethichorum R² et iudeorum D || israhelitarumque WMT israhelitarumque *corr.* U¹ || -que] sed D 8 nouumque δ || te *om.* R || auctorem te K || auctorum *corr.* R² actorem H 9 Iesu Christi SEWD (*corr.* S) || Iesu *bis scr., pr. del.* K || preconis M || ostendo β || *ras.* 3 *litt.* *post ostendo* O || rethoricis] o *in ras.* E retoricis FJ rhetoricis K || et *post rethoricis add.* a 9/10 inreprehensibilem Q inreprehensibilis L || inreprehensibili sophia D 10 sophistam βK || quem K || es *post adeptus add.* δQ² (*est* Q) 11 temporali *corr.* W || atque] ac W adque J || insinuabilis D insinuauis *corr.* L² 12 incapabilis *corr.* E inplacabilis O incapabilis F *ex silentio* captabilis D inaptabilis ZYU || erit] eri E || plerique *corr.* E² 13 eorum OHK || minime *bis scr., pr. del.* W || flectantur βHK (inflectantur YU) fl&untur R || insinuationibus] persuasionibus K 14 uitali *corr.* R² uitalem *corr.* U || Dei *om.* YU || instillatus M distillatus K

- 15 sine corruptela perpetuum animal parit ad Deum istinc
properantem. Vale Seneca carissime nobis. Data Kal. Aug.
Lurcone et Sabino consulibus.

15 corruptella B corruptela *corr.* M corruptele T || perpetuam animam
βHJK || -que *post* perpetuum *add. a (praeter D)* || animam *corr.* U || parit]
uel pergit *in marg. add. A², hic finiunt MT (V. et VALE add. M)* 16
Seneca-nobis *om.* W || Seneca *om.* Z semper D 16/17 Data-consulibus *om.*
RFOMTHJK 16 Dat. BASE DD W || Agustarum B Augustarum ASQ Augu-
starium E Augustus Y 17 Lurcone-consulibus *om.* D || Lurcone *scripsi*
lucullune E lucone ω || sabina A sauino ZYU || Explicit BE Expliciunt
epistolae quattuordecim sancti Pauli apostoli et Senecae quas ad se mutuo
scripserunt L *nullam subscriptionem exhibent* ω

THE SUPPOSED EPISTLES OF SENECA TO PAUL AND OF PAUL TO SENECA¹.

I. Seneca to Paul greeting.

I believe that you have been informed, Paul, of the discussion which my friend Lucilius and I held yesterday concerning the apocrypha² and other matters: for some of the followers of your teachings were with me. We had retired to the gardens of Sallust³, and it was our good fortune that these disciples

¹ Previous translations into English include *Six Epistles of St. Paul to Seneca*; and *eight of Seneca to Paul* in *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament by the Rev. Jeremiah Jones* (London, 1726) II 64; (1798) II 50; (1827) II 44; W. Hone, Bookseller, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London, 1821) 74—78; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) 480—484.

² It is most natural to suppose that *apocrypha* to a writer of the fourth century would stand for the so-called uncanonical works, chiefly of the New Testament. Christian writers, both Latin and Greek, from the end of the second century denounce apocryphal and heretical works. We must credit our author with considerable stupidity, however, if we allow him to represent Seneca and Lucilius having a discussion with some of Paul's disciples about apocryphal books. If it is not an accidental anachronism, then we are forced to look for some other explanation. The translation of M. R. James suggests as an alternative "the secret mysteries". Fleury conjectured *apographa*, which would make this one more reference to the writings of Paul.

³ The gardens of Sallust were a large tract of land in Rome between the present Piazza Barberini and the Porta Pia. They became imperial property under Tiberius. There is one other mention of them by a fourth century author, *Incerti auctoris Panegyri. in Const.* 14,4 (Teub. ed. 300,26). If the meeting of Seneca and Lucilius with Paul's disciples indicates that these gardens were open to the public, it is our only ancient authority for this fact. Seneca, of course, might have had access to them as a close friend of the Emperor. The gardens were sacked by Alaric in 410. Cf. Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929) 271 f.

whom I have mentioned saw us there and joined us, although they were on their way elsewhere. You may be sure that we wished that you, too, had been present, and I also want you to know this: when we had read one of your treatises, that is to say one of the many letters of wondrous exhortation to an upright life which you have sent to some city or to the capital of a province, we were completely invigorated. These thoughts, I believe, were expressed not by you, but through you; though sometimes they were expressed both by you and through you; for they are so lofty and so brilliant with noble sentiments that in my opinion whole generations of men could hardly be enough to become established and perfected in these matters. I wish you good health, brother.

II. To Annaeus Seneca Paul greeting.

I was extremely glad to receive your letter yesterday, and I could have answered it immediately if I had had with me the young man whom I intended to send to you. You know when and by whom and at what time and to whom a thing should be given or intrusted. Therefore I ask you not to think yourself neglected, while I pay attention to the qualities of the messenger. But you write somewhere that you are pleased with my letter and I count myself fortunate in the approval of a man who is so great. For you, a critic, a philosopher, the teacher of so great a ruler, nay even of everyone, would not say this, unless you speak sincerely. I hope that you may long be in good health.

III. Seneca to Paul greeting.

I have arranged some of my works¹ and set them in order according to their proper divisions. I also intend to read them

¹ The authorship of the *volumina* here mentioned has been discussed on p. 37.

to Caesar. If only fate is kind enough to cause him to show renewed interest, perhaps you will be there also; if not, I will at some other time set a day on which we may examine this work together. I could not show him this writing without first conferring with you, if only it were possible to do so without getting into trouble, so that you may be sure of this, that you are not being forgotten. Farewell, dearest Paul.

IV. To Annaeus Seneca Paul greeting.

As often as I hear your letters, I think that you are present and I imagine nothing else than that you are continually with us. As soon, therefore, as you begin to come, we shall see each other face to face. I hope that you are in good health.

V. Seneca to Paul greeting.

We are distressed at your exceedingly long retirement. What is the matter? What makes you stay away? If it is the displeasure of our empress¹ because you have withdrawn from

¹ Epp. 5 and 8 each contain references to a *domina*, who can hardly be any other than Poppaea. Seneca tells Paul to be careful not to offend her, since she will not like his having deserted Judaism for Christianity. This implies some sympathy for the Jews on the part of Poppaea, which it is, in fact, possible to substantiate from other sources. A footnote on p. 29 of Westerburg's introduction discusses four passages, three of them from Josephus, which may indicate that Poppaea was a secret Jewish proselyte. Once when some Jews were sent by Festus, procurator of Judaea, for trial before Nero, he was persuaded by Poppaea to set them free; it is related that she even kept two of them in her own house (*Ant.* XX 8,11). On another occasion Josephus made a trip to Rome to make a personal plea for some prisoners. He formed a friendship with a Jewish actor named Aliturus, was introduced by him to Poppaea, and solicited her aid. She made a successful intercession in his behalf and also gave him presents before he returned home (*De vita sua* 3,16). Another procurator of Judaea, Florus, had a wife Cleopatra who was a close friend of Poppaea (*Ant.* XX 11,1). The final passage is from Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI 6, referring to the burial of Poppaea: *corpus non igne abolitum, sed regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus conditur tumuloque Iuliorum infertur.*

your old rite and creed and are turning elsewhere, then you will be given an opportunity of asking her to believe that you acted reasonably, not lightly. A kind farewell.

VI. To Seneca and Lucilius Paul greeting.

I may not speak with pen and ink concerning what you have written to me, for the one marks a thing down and defines it, while the other makes it all too clear, — especially since I am certain that there are some among your number, with you and in your midst, who are able to understand me. We must show respect to everyone, the more so as they are apt to find cause for offense. If we are patient with them, we shall overcome them in every way and on every side — that is, if only they are the kind of people who can be sorry for what they have done. A kind farewell.

VII. Annaeus Seneca to Paul and Theophilus greeting.

I admit that I enjoyed reading your letters to the Galatians, to the Corinthians, and to the Achaeans¹, and may our relations be like that religious awe which you manifest in these letters (?). For the holy spirit that is in you, surpassing the highest, with lofty speech utters thoughts worthy of reverence. Therefore I wish, since you have such excellent matters to propose, that refinement of language might not be lacking to the majesty of your theme. And in order that I

¹ No Epistle, canonical or apocryphal, is known to have been addressed by Paul to the Achaeans. It is not likely that such an Epistle has been lost, after having been known in the fourth century, or that its existence should not have been mentioned by any other writer. Fabricius plausibly believed that this refers to what we know as the second Epistle to the Corinthians, which was sent (1,1) "to the church of God which is at Corinth and to all the saints who are in all Achaea". There is the additional argument that the three Epistles here mentioned, if this identification is correct, occur consecutively in our present New Testament, although there the letter to the Galatians follows, rather than precedes, the two to the Corinthians.

may not keep anything secret from you, brother, or have a guilty conscience, I confess that the Augustus was affected by your sentiments. When my treatise on the virtue that is in you was read to him, this was his reply, that he was amazed that one whose education had not been regular could have such ideas. I answered him that the gods are accustomed to speak through the mouths of the innocent and not of those who are enabled by their learning to distort anything. When I gave him the example of Vatienus¹, a farmer, to whom appeared in the territory of Reate two men who later were found to be Castor and Pollux, he seemed thoroughly enlightened. Farewell.

VIII. To Seneca Paul greeting.

Even though I am not unaware that our Caesar is now fond of marvelous things, although he may some day cease to be so (?) (*or possibly* if ever he has leisure), still he allows himself not to be rebuked, but to be informed. I think that it was a very serious mistake on your part to wish to bring to his notice what is against his practice and training. Inasmuch as he worships the gods of the gentiles, I do not see what you had in mind that you wished him to know this, unless I am to think that you are doing this from your great love for me. I beg you not to do this in the future. You must also be careful

¹ The story of Vatienus was first told by Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum* II 2,6. From him it is repeated by Valerius Maximus I 8,1 and later by Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* II 7,10. It is also given, with some errors, by the scholiast of L (text on p. 15 n. 1). Cicero's account is as follows: *P... Vatinius..., cum e praefectura Reatina Romam venienti noctu duo iuvenes cum equis albis dixissent regem Persem illo die captum, <cum> senatui nuntiavisset, primo quasi temere de re publica locutus in carcerem coniectus est, post a Paulo litteris allatis cum idem dies constitisset, et agro a senatu et vacatione donatus est.* The reference is to the victory of L. Aemilius Paulus over Perses at the battle of Pydna on June 22, 168 B.C. The name in Ciceronian manuscripts fluctuates between Vatinius and Vatienus. Vatienus was adopted by the author of the present Correspondence, but it was changed to Vatinius in 8 manuscripts, probably by Alcuin on the authority of a manuscript of Cicero which he possessed.

not to offend our empress while showing affection for me. Her displeasure, to be sure, cannot harm us if it lasts, nor can we be helped if it is never incurred(?). If she is a queen, she will not be insulted; if a woman, she will be angry. A kind farewell.

IX. Seneca to Paul greeting.

I know that it was not so much for your own sake that you were disturbed when I wrote you that I had read my letters to Caesar as because of the nature of things, which summons the minds of men away from all upright pursuits and practices, — so that I am not astonished in the present instance, particularly because I have learned this well from many sure proofs. Therefore let us begin anew, and if in the past I have been negligent in any way, you will grant pardon. I have sent you a book on facility in using words¹. Farewell, dearest Paul.

X. To Seneca Paul greeting.

Whenever I write to you and place my name after yours, I commit a serious fault and one incompatible with my creed².

¹ Numerous instances of *copia verborum* and *copia dicendi* in Cicero's *De Oratore* and in Quintilian show that to these authors the phrase meant facility in using the Latin language. The same meaning is quite in keeping with the general tone of the present Correspondence, in which Seneca often criticizes Paul for not expressing better his fine sentiments. Codex Q contains a work which bears the title *De Copia Verborum*, and in other manuscripts, e. g. *Paris lat. 8542*, the heading indicates that scribes believed this to be the very treatise which Seneca sent to Paul. An examination shows that it is built up of a condensed form of the *Formula Vitae Honestae* of St. Martin of Braga, followed by a long collection of sentences from the earlier Epistles of Seneca to Lucilius. In short, the work owes its title to this statement in Ep. 9, although some writers, notably Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1890—93) II 195 ff., have declared that this proves that the Correspondence was written after St. Martin of Braga. For further discussion of this subject see J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 2nd ed. (London and Cambridge, 1869) 327 ff.

² The subject of 10 is rather obscure. Paul is trying to show deference to Seneca, and I believe that the only possible interpretation is that he wishes to do so by signing his name at the end of the letter. Others have

For I ought, as I have often claimed, to be all things to all people and to observe towards you what the Roman law has granted to the honor of the senate—namely, to choose the last place when I have finished my letter, lest I desire to perform in an inadequate and disgraceful manner what is my own will. Farewell, most devoted of teachers. Written June 27 in the consulship of Nero for the third time and Messala¹.

believed that he was trying to say that he should not write his name ahead of Seneca's in the salutation. The manuscript tradition of these salutations is very corrupt and has probably been tampered with, but up to this point Paul's letters bear the heading SENECAE PAVLVVS SALVTEM. To accept the theory of certain other editors requires changing *et* in line 2 to *nec* so that we have: "Whenever I write to you and do not put my name after yours, I commit a serious fault." But this is in conflict with line 6. The real meaning is: "Whenever I write to you and do put my name directly after yours, I commit a serious fault, for I ought rather, having finished the letter, to choose the last place." It has not been noted by other commentators that Paul actually does sign his name at the end in *Colossians* and *II Thessalonians*. There are two small difficulties in the letter. One is *perlecta*, which Kraus with some reason emended to *perfecta*; in any case the meaning is clear, since it must refer to the finished letter. The other difficulty is in regard to the honor paid to the senate by Roman law. It is useless to search for parallels in which the writer placed his name after the senate in the salutation, since the few known cases are due to the writer's own whims of the moment, and since in any case the present passage refers to placing the name at the end of the letter, which neither the Greeks nor the Romans ever did, so far as I know. It is best to assume with Liénard that the law here referred to is a fiction.

Seneca's answer comes in 12,7 ff. Paul is not to think himself unworthy of having his name *prima facie epistolarum*. *Prima facie* is a common phrase, but here seems to be without its legal meaning. It is best interpreted in this instance as equivalent to *prima fronte*, the use of which with the meaning *initio* is given in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VI 1, 1365, 38. The reply, therefore, is in keeping with the following interpretation of Ep. 10: "Do not think yourself unworthy of having your name at the beginning of your letters, rather than at the end." This has again been misunderstood by some reader or copyist, for 14 is headed PAVLVVS SENECAE SALVTEM and is the only letter which has Paul's name first.

¹The dates which accompany 10—14 have been examined in a brief note by F. Ramorino, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* VIII (1900) 507—9. His remarks leave little to be said that is new, in spite of the inaccurate text which he had at his disposal. The following consular information is taken from the list of W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani* (Bonn, 1909, cover dated 1910) (= 'Kleine Texte für Theologische u. Philologische Vorlesungen u. Übungen' 41—43):

A.D.

58 Imp. Nero III::M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus [C. Fonteius Agrippa

XI. Seneca to Paul greeting.

Greetings, my dearly beloved Paul. Do you think I am not saddened and grieved because you innocent people are repeatedly punished? Or because the whole populace believes you so implacable and so liable to guilt, thinking that every misfortune in the city is brought about by you? But let us endure it calmly and take advantage of whatever opportunity fortune allots to us, until happiness all-victorious gives us release from our troubles. Earlier ages endured the Macedonian, the son of Philip, the Cyruses, Darius, Dionysius; our own age put up with Gaius Caesar; all of them were free to do whatever they pleased. The source of the frequent fires which the city of

(for Nero in June)]—A. Paconius Sabinus with A. Petronius Lurco (Aug. 14, Dec. 15)

59 C. Vipstanus Apronianus::C. Fonteius Capito

64 C. Laecanius Bassus::M. Licinius M. f. Crassus Frugi

There are, therefore, three small errors in the dates of the Epistles as found in our manuscripts. With Messala they place Nero's fourth consulship, which actually took place in A.D. 60 with Cornelius Lentulus as a colleague. Following Ramorino I have emended IIII to III in 10. Ep. 11 gives the name *Frugi*, which was corrected in 8 manuscripts, probably by Alcuin himself. *Lucone* of 13 and 14 is easily corrected to *Lurcone*. These three errors most probably arose in some manuscript, although it is barely possible that one or more of them were already found in the lists which were consulted by the author of the Correspondence. The five letters are, then, dated as follows: 10—June 27, 58; 11—Mar. 28, 64; 12—Mar. 23, 59; 13—July 6, 58; 14—Aug. 1, 58. It will be noted that the fire in Rome is supposed to have ended by Mar. 28, whereas Tacitus *Ann.* XV 41 places its outbreak on July 19. Regarding the date of 10, Nero had been replaced by Fonteius Agrippa before June 27, but it is not unlikely that Nero's name would still have been retained as that of eponymous consul. It is a little remarkable that the *consules suffecti* were used for the dates of the last two Epp., but it becomes even more astonishing when we discover that in this particular year the names of the *consules suffecti* were actually used for dating. In two wax tablets from Pompeii they appear in connection with the date of Aug. 14 and later in the year (*C. I. L.* IV, Suppl. I, Nos. 142, 150), and their names are also used in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* from Oct. 12 through December (*C. I. L.* VI 2041, 4). Until now the accession of these *suffecti* could not be placed before Aug. 14, but I am of the opinion that the evidence of 13 is historically accurate, so that we may be sure that Lurco and Sabinus were in office on July 6, and, therefore, probably on July 1, which would be the most natural date for commencing their term.

Rome suffers is sufficiently clear. But if lowly people had been allowed to tell the reason and if it were permitted to speak safely in these times of ill-fortune, everyone would now understand everything. Christians and Jews, charged with responsibility for the fire—alas!—are being put to death, as is usually the case. That ruffian, whoever he is, whose pleasure is murdering and whose refuge is lying, is marked for his time of reckoning, and just as one good man gave his life for many, so he shall be sacrificed for all and burned by fire. One hundred and thirty-two private houses and four thousand apartment-houses burned in six days; the seventh day gave respite¹. I hope that you are in good health, brother. Written March 28 in the consulship of Frugi and Bassus.

XII. Seneca to Paul greeting.

Greetings, my dearly beloved Paul. If such a great man as you and one who is beloved of God is to be, I do not say joined, but rather closely associated in all respects with me

¹ This letter gives several definite statements about the great fire in Rome. The date is set before Mar. 28, in the year 64. This hardly agrees with that of July 19 in Tacitus, *Ann.* XV 41. Since Tacitus reports that Nero was in his villa at Antium when the news of the fire was brought to him, some have thought that the season cannot have been as early as this letter to Paul would make it, but this argument is not cogent. A definite number is also assigned to the dwellings destroyed. Suetonius, *Nero* 38, says *immensum numerum insularum* and Tacitus remarks *domuum et insularum... numerum inire haud promptum fuerit*. The exact figure of 132 private houses and 4000 apartment-houses must have been contained in some list that was available to writers of the fourth century, although it has not survived to the present day. Bücheler in *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1927) II 61 f. = *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 105 (1872) 566 f. defends the number 4000 against the *quattuor* adopted by Haase. As a matter of fact the error in Haase's manuscript arose comparatively recently in the manuscript tradition. The other definite statement concerns the duration of the fire: it stopped on the seventh day. Tacitus says (XIV 40): *sexto die finis incendio factus*, but later: *russum grassatus ignis*. The account of Suetonius gives approximately the same figures: *per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est*. The probable guilt of Nero and the persecution of the Christians are both mentioned by Tacitus and Suetonius.

and my name, then your Seneca will be wholly satisfied. Since, therefore, you are the peak and crest of all the most lofty mountains, do you not, then, wish me to rejoice if I am so close to you as to be considered a second like unto you? Therefore do not think that you are unworthy of having your name in the first place in your letters, or else you may seem to be making a test of me rather than praising me, especially since you know that you are a Roman citizen. For I wish that my position were yours in your writings, and that yours were as mine. Farewell, my dearly beloved Paul. Written March 23 in the consulship of Apronianus and Capito.

XIII. Seneca to Paul greeting.

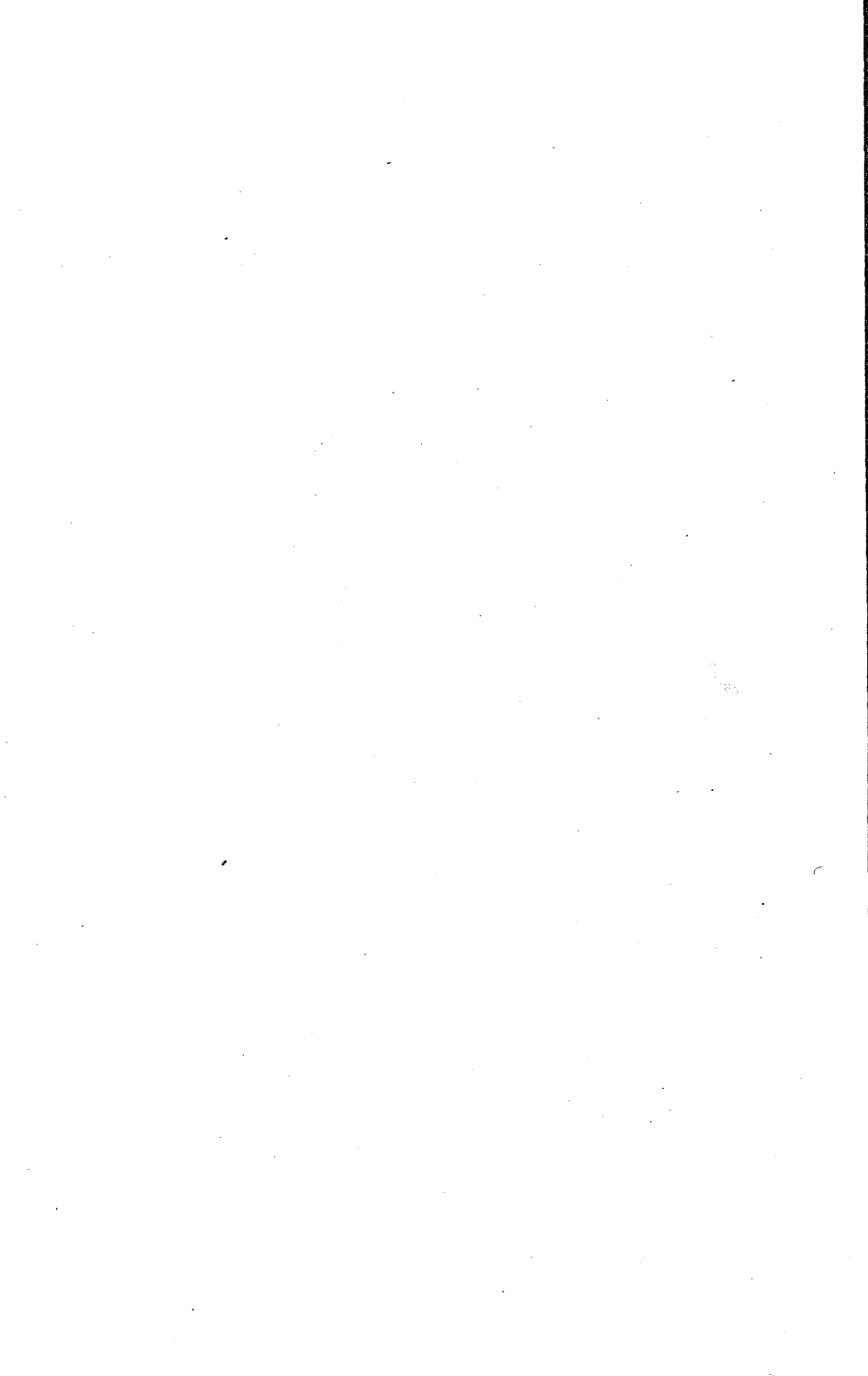
Many writings are everywhere composed by you allegorically and enigmatically, and for that reason you must adorn that powerful gift of truth and talent which has been bestowed upon you not so much with embellishment of words as with a certain amount of refinement. And do not fear, as I remember I have frequently said, that many who affect such things spoil the thoughts and emasculate the force of their subject-matter. I do wish you would obey me and comply with the pure Latin style, giving a good appearance to your noble utterances, in order that the granting of this excellent gift may be worthily performed by you. A kind farewell. Written July 6 in the consulship of Lurco and Sabinus.

XIV. Paul to Seneca greeting.

Things have been revealed to you in your reflections which the Godhead has granted to few. Therefore I am certain that I am sowing a rich seed in a fertile field, not a corruptible matter, but the abiding Word of God, derived from Him who is ever-increasing and ever-abiding. The determination which your good sense has attained must never fail—namely, to avoid the outward

manifestations of the heathens and the Israelites. You must make yourself a new sponsor of Jesus Christ by displaying with the praises of rhetoric that blameless wisdom which you have almost achieved and which you will present to the temporal king and to the members of his household and to his trusted friends, whom you will find it difficult or nearly impossible to persuade, since many of them are not at all influenced by your presentations. Once the Word of God has inspired the boon of life within them, it will create a new man, without corruption, an abiding being, hastening thence to God. Farewell, Seneca, most dear to us. Written August 1 in the consulship of Lurco and Sabinus.

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Index locorum qui ab Haasii editione altera differunt

	<i>Editio haec</i>	<i>Editio Haasii</i>
<i>Prol.</i> 5	illae epistolae	epistolae illae
6	aut	et
1,2	nuntiatum	nunciatum esse
2	heri	heri [de te]
3	habuerimus	sermonem habuerimus
6	nostri	nostra
13	clarent	calens
14	quae his	quibus
2,1	ANNAEO SENECAE	SENECAE
6	neglectum	[te] neglectum
8	nec	neque
9	etiam	et iam
3,4	fors	sors
4	aures adferat	afferat aures
5	forsitan	forsan
7	conferrem	conferam
7/8	si modo	si modo [etiam]
8	hoc ut	ut
9	Vale Paule carissime	Vale
5,1	ANNAEO SENECAE PAV-	PAVLVS SENECAE
	LVS	
2	quae te res	vel quae res te
3	remotum	remo[ra]tum
4	aliorum	alios rursum
5	existimet	existimetur
6	Bene <i>vale</i>	-----
6,6	tanto	et tanto
8	et	ex
7,4	eas	esse
5	super	super te
5	excelsos	excelsus
5	sublimi ore	sublimiores
6	satis	sanctis
6/7	cum res eximias proferas	cures et cetera
10	perfecto	lecto
15	apparuerunt	apparuisent
16	Valete	Vale
8,1	SENECAE PAVLVVS	PAVLVS SENECAE
2	nostrum	nostrarum

	<i>Editio haec</i>	<i>Editio Haasii</i>
8,2/3	admirandarum, si quando deficiet, amatorem esse	admiratorem, si quando deficiet ama- torem esse
3	permittit	permittes
4	se	te
5	voluisti quod	voluisti id, quod
9,3	mearum	tuarum
4	rerum	[ipsarum] rerum
6	ut <i>is</i>	[ut]
10,2	meum	meum tibi
3	sectae meae et	et sectae meae
5	tuam personam	tua persona
7	efficere	[illud] efficere
9	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
11,1		<i>Ep. XI post XII collocavit</i>
6	Sed feramus	Feramus
9	Cyros	et post
12	humana potuisset	potuisset humana
15	pro! — supplicio adfecti	adfecti supplicio
15/16	quod fieri solet	uri solent
18	et ut	ut
18	datum	donatum
20	quattuor milia	quatuor
20	sex	[in] sex
12,3	a Deo dilectus	dilectus
9	ne	ne tam
9	laudare	ludere
10	te civem esse	civem esse te
10	Nam	[uti]nam
13,2	-----	[Ave mi Paule carissime]
3	colliduntur	concluduntur
5	dixisse	te dixisse
6/7	rerum virtutes	virtutes rerum
7	Certum	ceterum
7	velim concedas	concedas velim
10	pridie	<i>V</i>
10	Lurcone	Leone
14,5	verbum stabile Dei, deriva- mentum	verbum stabile, dei derivamentum.
6	adsecuta	adsecuta [est]
13	flectuntur	flectantur
15	perpetuum animal	perpetuamque animam
17	Lurcone	Leone

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Index Verborum

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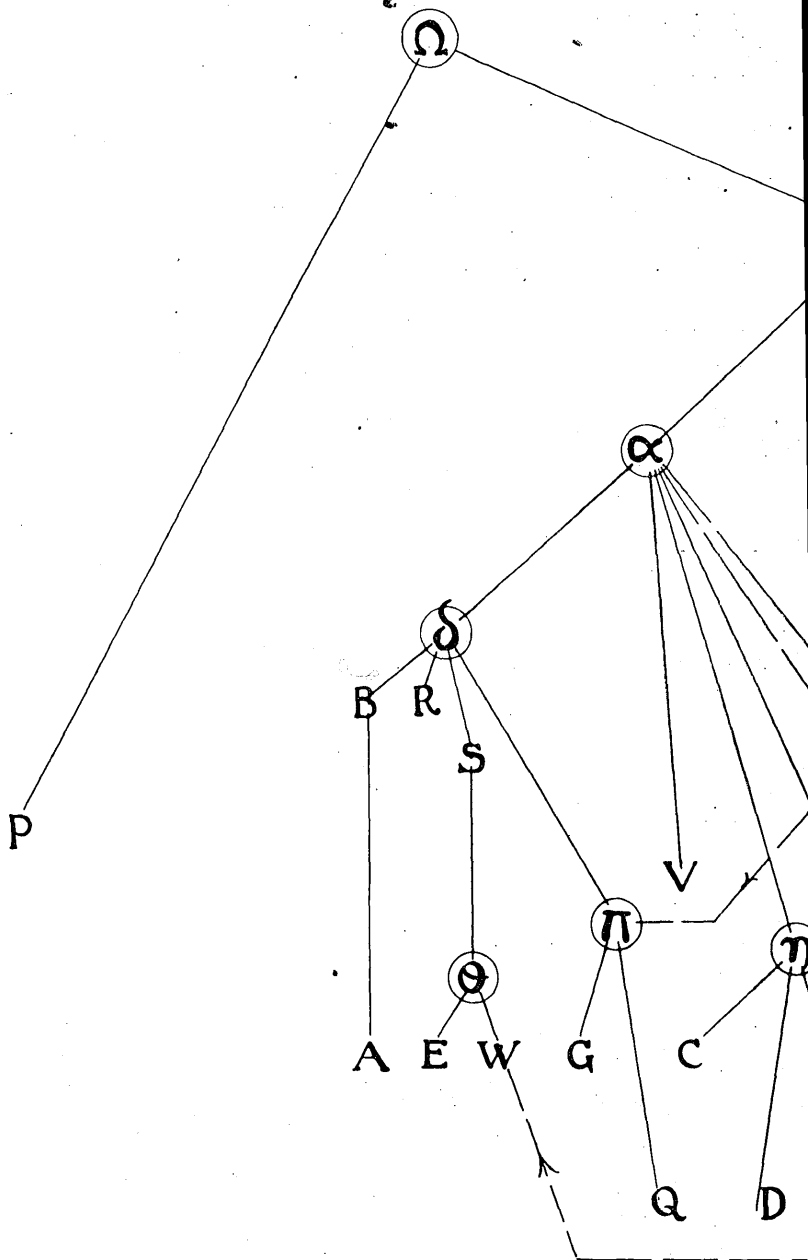


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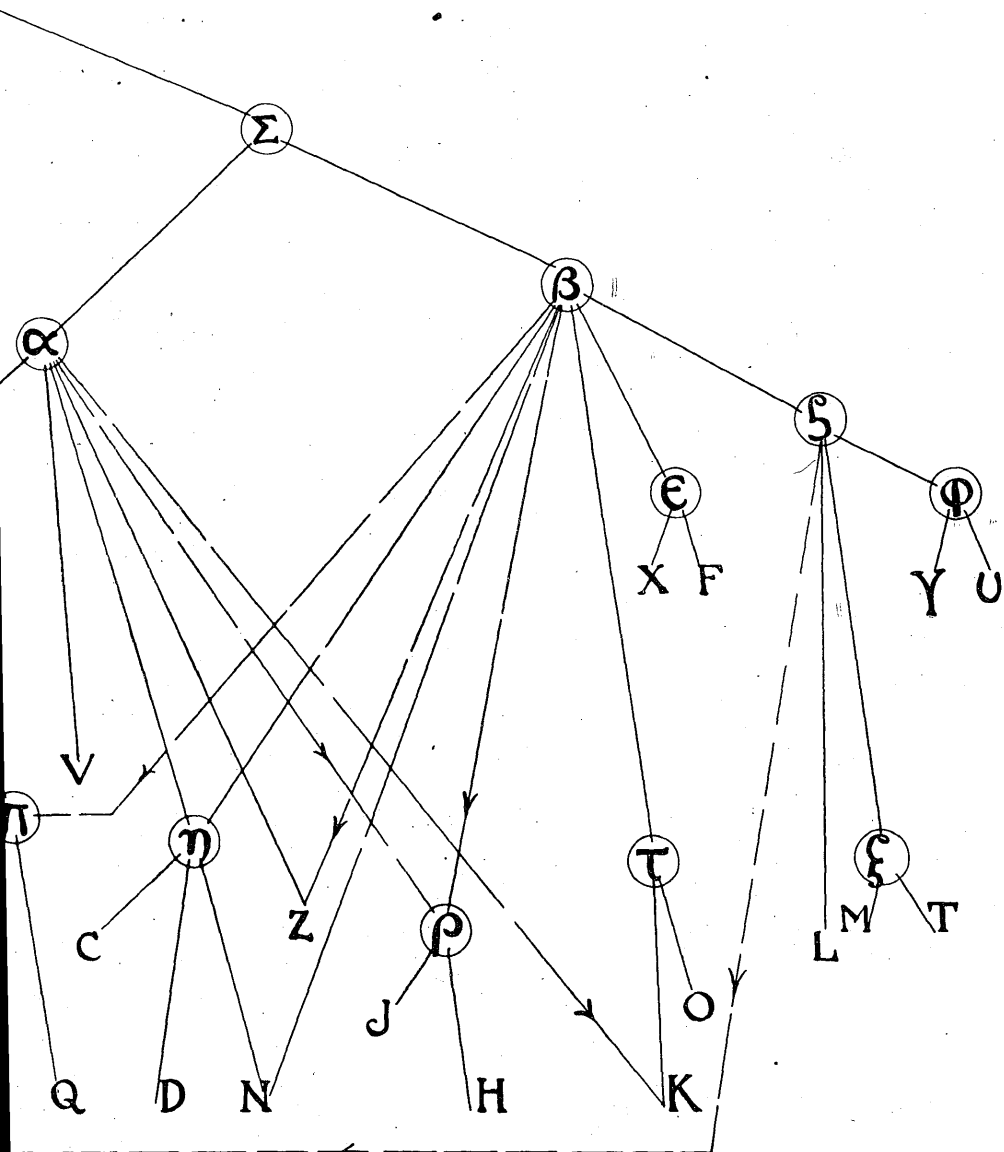
X

XI

XII



A complex directed graph with Greek letters as nodes. The nodes are arranged in a hierarchical structure. At the top is Σ , which connects to α and β . α connects to ν , η , ζ , ρ , and τ . β connects to ν , η , ζ , ρ , τ , ϵ , and ξ . ϵ connects to X and F . ξ connects to L , M , and T . ν connects to Q and D . η connects to C and N . ζ connects to J and H . ρ connects to J and H . τ connects to K and O . There are also dashed lines connecting α to ν , β to η , and β to ξ .



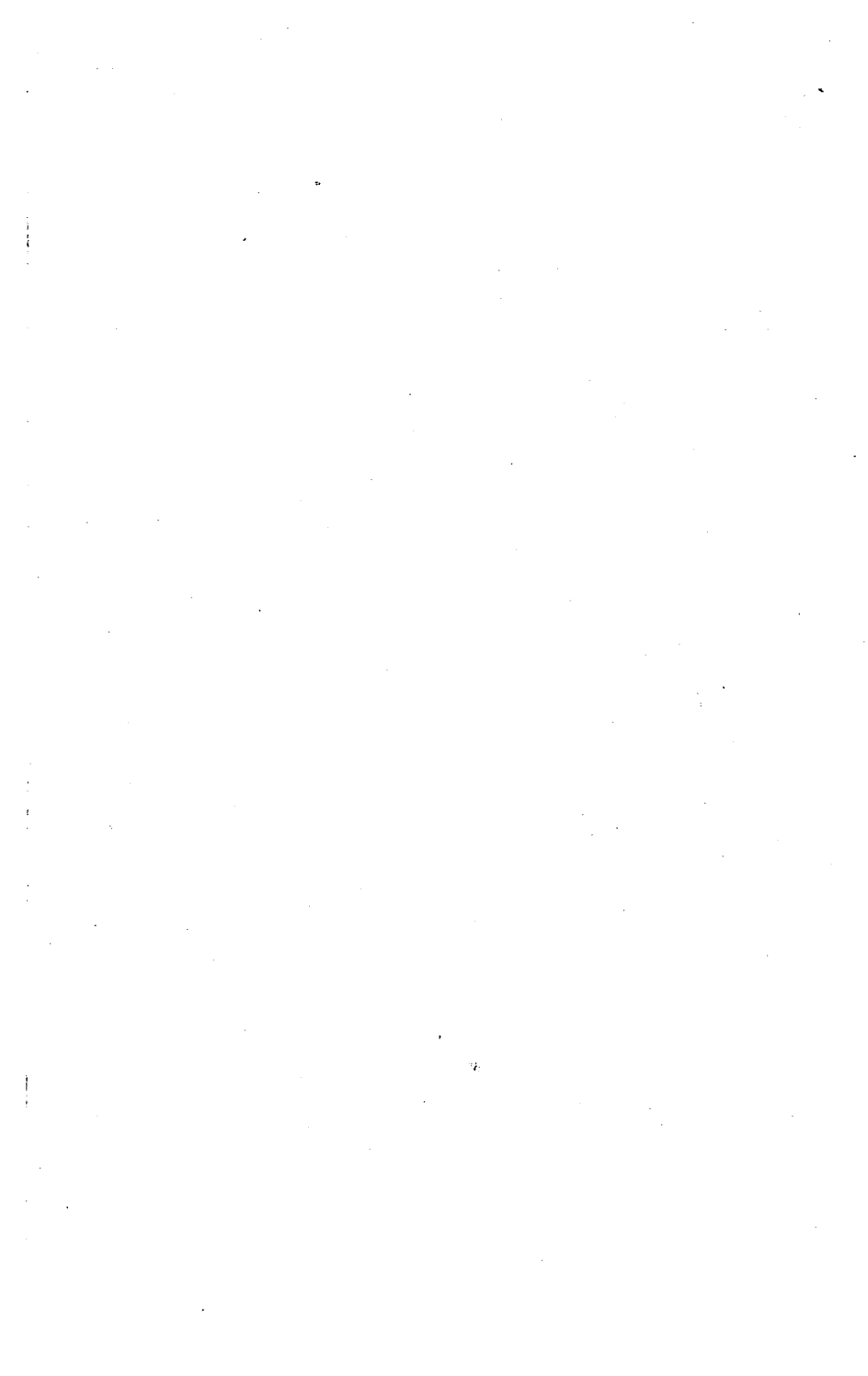


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I rascuictos minime placeo opame framy
 ludite securi. quib; esse semp marca
 Siquis habens nummorum uis exilis inanis
 usori cupido semp graui exitus in facit
 Scire ac pbi; paret nasci regina de di
 n ullu bi; potest sed ledere de ita
 I nra fures agrosq; arbor adduc caper
 place truces animos uerere ledere totos
 Pongam aure bellam piam in auro
 eple lucu anneronece

I osophi ad paulo spem a paulo
 Adeunde M
 I ugius annuus dicitur paulo salutem dabo ab
 paulo nunc ac restitui quicquid in anis
 deceptis dicitur pbi; habuimus etiam
 cum disciphac rum tuorum annis meam
 Nam in hoc d; illis acce pueri hunc paulo
 Oclatione nri alio tendentes hunc pbi;
 nobis adiunguntur certe quibus pbi;
 Obacuerimus d hostes uolo pbi;
 Idest de pbi; aliquid licetis quicquid
 Quamquam rem tunc pbi; pbi;
 istam tam exoracionem tuam moralem
 Cui non tam uis pbi;
 pbi; non pbi; pbi;
 e oracionem exoracionem pbi;

Latin 2742



gratanter fecisse nulla innotuam ferre
 uoluit quidam uero discipline ausit con-
 trarium cum enim elegitum deos coler
 Quid abi utamur hostiis camellos non uideo
 nisi in uno. Imo me hoc fecerit et consi-
 munda
 Rogo deus si romadigas. Cuiusdum enim
 nedum me diligis offensum deus efficit. Cuius
 quidem offensio neque obicit si per te uideretur
 Si regis non indignus uirum similiter offendit
 beneuolere luctus Anceas ferre
 paulo salutare. Vnde
 f. I. Ibe mupaula kmr pualt nomen conu-
 & minus luctuosum quod deus uoluit
 ura subinde sub plium sumatur deus quod
 dux or. tanque obnoxiosus utat omni populo
 iudex pueris audis effa quidquid inor be anera
 rum sit. Sed feramus equo animo deus
 furo quod quos concessit. donec inducere felicitas
 finem apponat. Lacte apriorum deus mactare
 philippum filium cyrosdum domsum nrm quoque
 gnum ceteros quibus quidquid libuit. luctu
 incedum ut hunc romie mani feste sepe unde
 tatur consue. Sed effugit humi lates hu-
 mane potius sit quidquid causae si in punie uide-
 rent xpi am. Quidam qui in genitor esse inen-
 di sub plio efficit. Quod si uult gassuor.

Latin 2772



ERSTO LAE SENECE

AD APOSTOLUM PAULUM.

ET PAULI AD EUNDDEM, QUAS
SIBI PROPTER FAMILIARI
TATEM MUTUAM TRANS
MISERUNT. EXCERPTAE DE
LIBRIS EIVSDEM SENECAE.

Credo tibi pauli nuntiatum
quod heri de tecum lucullo
nostro de apogriphis &
aliis rebus habuerimus. Erant
enim quidam disciplinarum
tuarum comites mecum, nam
in hostes salustianos secesse
ramus; Quo loco occasione
nostra alio tendentes, inuenimus
de quibus aliqua uisus nobis, ad
iuncti sunt: ceterum quod tui
praesentiam optauimus.

statum eis dedi. ea q̄q̄ cesari legere si-
Si modo frat̄ prospere annuente uen-
adferat. eris fors an & tu præsens. Si-
tibi diem. ut hoc opus Inuicem Inspicia-
sem non prius edere ei eam scrip̄tū
tecum conferam. si modo Impune hoc
ut scires. non te prætērim. VALE PAUL
INCIPIT ANNEO SENECAE PAULUS

Quotiens cumque litteras tuas audio
tunc cogito. ne calidius sumo quam o-
re te nobiscum esse. cum primū ita
coeperis Inuicem nos & de proximo ui-
BENE TE VALE RE. OPTO
SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Nimio talio secessu angustis & de-
moratū faciunt. si Indignandū dū
tuleris recesseris. & alios rursum con-
postulandi locus. ut traditio ne facit
hoc & is timetur. SENECAE ET LUCILI

De his quae mihi scripsisti. non licet ar-
mento eloqui. quarū altera res notat
aliquid. altera euidenter ostendit. p̄
Inter uos ēē. hoc est apud uos & In uobis
legant. honor omnibus habendus est
quanto Indignandi occasionē captant.
etiam demus omnimodo eos & quaq̄
cemus. si modo hisint qui poenitentiam

77
egere non destitutus .

erit uenias aures

resens . finalis . reddi

mo inspiciamus . & pos

iripiamus . insipimus

nunc hoc fieri potest

IN LEPAULI KARISSIMI

AULIS SALUTEM

uas audio presentiam

no quam omni tempo

mun . itaque uenire

ro . uno uidebimus .

ITEM .

ITEM .

Item est quare res re

domine qd arca & se

nursum conuerteris . erit

mo factum non leuare

ET LUCILLO PAULUS SAT

on lica arundine & ara

res . notat & designat

stondit . papue cū scia

& in uobis . quoniam intel

bendus est . tanto magis

captant . quibus si pœa

ros & quaquā parce uin

ententiam sui gerant .

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